PHILIPS' HISTORICAL READER

NO. 4

MODERN ENGLAND

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Philips' Historical Readers.

MODERN ENGLAND

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

HISTORICAL READER No. IV.

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PREFACE.

IN this book, the aim has been to preserve the excellences which distinguish the preceding volumes of Philips' Historical Readers. While it possesses a marked individuality of its own, the lines of thought which prevailed in the earlier periods of English history have been carried on unbroken to the days in which we live; and, where the final result of any movement has not yet manifested itself, clear indications have been given of the direction in which the national life is developing. In this way, it is hoped the reader may be taught that the country's past represents a steady process of organic growth, watched over by Divine Providence, and governed by unchanging and beneficent law. No better way could have been devised for educating the young to that *continuity of thinking* which is so vital an element in all real intellectual culture.

The greatest possible care has been bestowed upon the literary style of this and the preceding volumes, and every sentence has been moulded with a view to its *pronunciability* as well as to its correctness. It is hoped that the result will be found most valuable in promoting the higher qualities of elocution—intelligence, expressiveness, and fluency.

Attention is again called to the admirable *vignettes*, all of which have been specially prepared for this series and are genuine historical portraits. Further, the general illustration of the volume has received scrupulous care; only *engravings* of artistic merit and educative value have been admitted, while the excellent *maps* help to make the book a small historical library within itself. An element of no less importance will be found in the *notes*, which contain a great mass of information it would have been impossible otherwise to present within the limits of the book.

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I. *THE HOUSE OF STUART.*

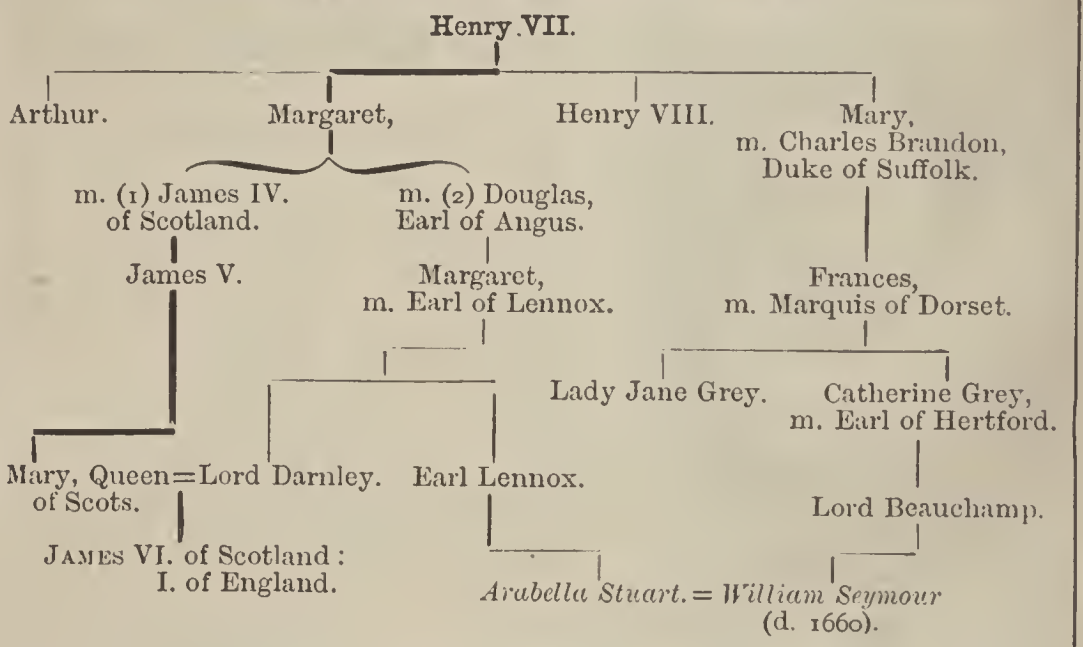
A SCOTTISH KING UPON THE ENGLISH THRONE.

ENGLAND under Elizabeth.—The reign of Elizabeth may justly be regarded as one of the golden periods of English history. Never had England seen an era of brighter intellectual splendour, or one in which social and material progress

had been so rapid; this island, Protestant though she was, had at last won a place among the great powers of Europe.[1]

Accession of James.—James was the only son of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. Before his mother's death, and while only an infant of twelve months, he had been proclaimed King of Scotland.[2] On the death of Elizabeth the throne of England was his by right of birth, and Elizabeth on

TABLE SHOWING THE DESCENT OF JAMES I.



her death-bed had named James to succeed her. The very first act of his first Parliament was to declare him "lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole heir to the blood royal of this realm."[3]

Every party in the State had special reasons for believing that he would favour their purposes. The Catholics thought that they had little to fear and much to hope from the son of Mary Stuart.[4] The Puritans[5] believed that as James had been trained under Presbyterian[6] influences,

he would not refuse their modest demands for greater liberty in regard to forms of worship. The Episcopalians[7] founded their hopes upon James's avowed preference for their forms of worship. Men of all shades of opinion rejoiced that by the union of the Scotch and English crowns, the danger of conflict between the two nations was now at an end.

Reception in England.—The English people, therefore, received James with almost unanimous welcome. His progress through his new kingdom on the way to London was attended with games, festivals, and every token of national rejoicing. So great was the joy of the people, so eager were they to show their loyalty, that James, who disliked crowds, issued a proclamation to check their approach.

This indicated a fatal want in the new king—a want which specially unfitted him to be the successor of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, whose popularity was largely due to their personal influence over the mass of the people. This James was utterly incapable of exercising. He shrank from contact with his subjects, partly from self-conceit, partly from natural timidity, partly from indolent love of ease and quiet. His personal appearance had, moreover, little of kingly dignity; besides he was choleric in temper and garrulous in speech. His dress also was singular—a thickly-quilted doublet[8] of green, with a small feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side. This dress he was in the habit of wearing till it was threadbare, for he had a great dislike to part with a suit to which he had grown accustomed.

James had received his early training from George Buchanan, who was famous both as a poet and a historian.[9] From such a tutor he would acquire a taste for poetry, and

a love of learning and theology. Probably no man of his time was a better theologian; he specially prided himself on his ability to hold his own with the most learned doctors of Europe; and he possessed also an immense amount of knowledge on all kinds of subjects.[10]

The besetting defect of James was his excessive self-esteem; he was proud of his learning and ability, and had very lofty notions of his kingly office. He possessed indeed a shrewd judgment and a keen insight into the weaknesses of human nature, yet he had little tact. He never properly understood the English nation, and was far less popular as an English than as a Scottish monarch.

1. **Great Powers of Europe.** At that time the other great powers were France and Spain.
2. As King of Scotland he was James VI. He was crowned at Stirling in 1567, and became King of England in 1603.
3. James had not a strictly constitutional claim, for Parliament had empowered Henry VIII. to settle the succession by will, and he had passed over the Scottish line in favour of the descendants of his younger sister Mary.
4. **Mary,** Queen of Scots, was a devoted Catholic. She was put to death by Elizabeth on a charge of being concerned in Catholic plots.
5. **Puritans,** literally, those who desired *purity* of worship.
6. **Presbyterians,** those who approve of church government by *presbyteries* composed of 'elders' elected from the laity and clergy, and in which the members have *equal* power.
7. **Episcopalians,** *i.e.*, those who prefer a system of church government by *bishops* or prelates, under whom are clergy of different grades.
8. **Doublet,** a kind of waistcoat made doubly thick for defence. James is said to have worn it from dread of assassination.
9. **Buchanan** (1506-1582) was the most famous Scottish scholar of his time.
10. James published a great many books. In one of them, 'A Counter-blast to Tobacco,' he strongly opposed smoking, a custom which had come into use not many years before his accession to the English throne.

JAMES AND THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

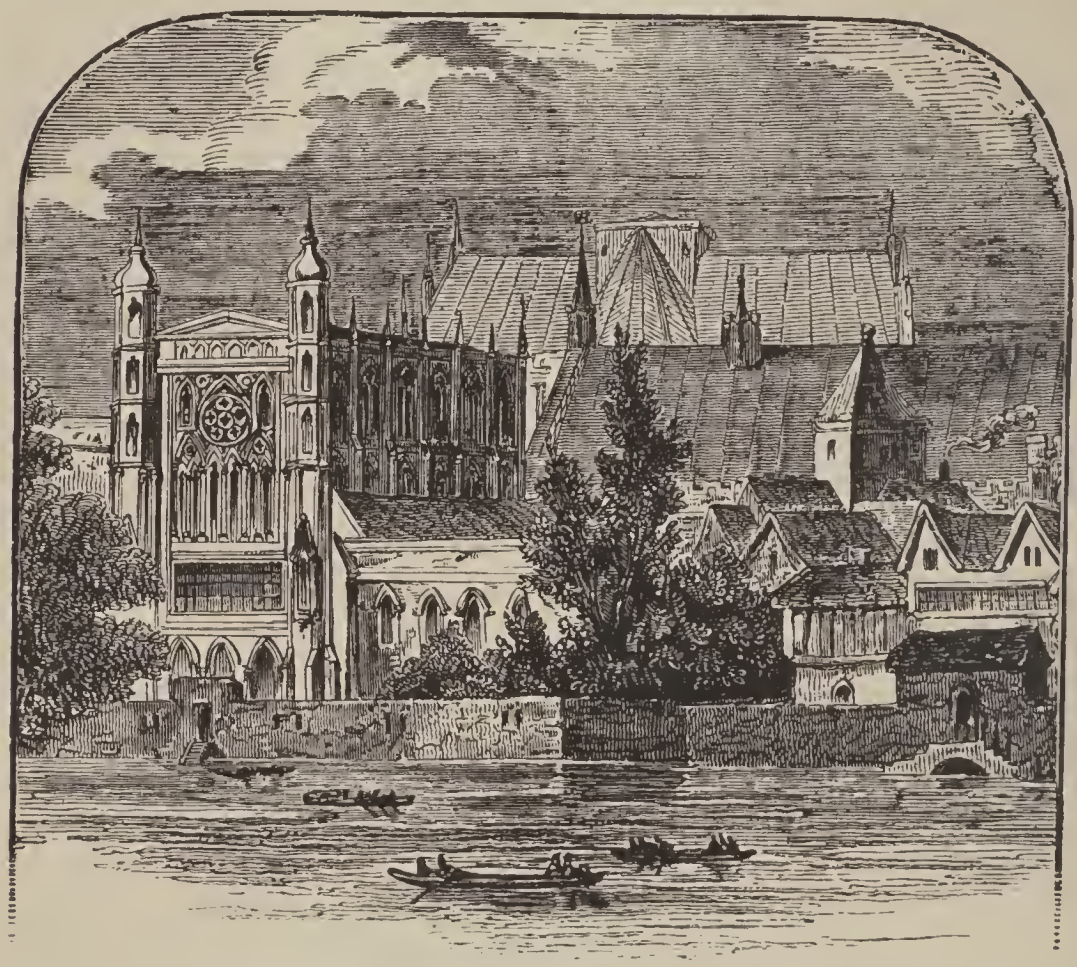
JAMES and the Puritans.—Soon after his accession he summoned the Episcopalians and Puritans to a great conference at Hampton Court Palace,[1] in order that he might himself judge of the points in dispute between them. He allowed the Puritans a few concessions in regard to the use of the liturgy,[2] but scornfully rejected all their principal requests. In this way he needlessly irritated them, and raised in their hearts a bitter feeling which in his son's reign ripened into open revolt.

James and the Catholics.—Towards the Catholics James cherished no personal dislike. Indeed he was inclined to tolerate all religious sects, except Presbyterians. He was ready to favour the Catholics if he could do so without injuring his own interests. At first he seemed disposed to gain their goodwill, and informed them that so long as they remained loyal, he would not fine those of them who refused to attend church, and that otherwise they would be treated with leniency.

Soon it was known that a party of Catholics had been engaged in a plot in favour of Arabella Stuart;[3] and it was also found that, after they had nothing to fear from the open profession of their faith, the number of avowed Catholics increased very rapidly. It was therefore determined to banish all Jesuit[4] and Seminary[5] priests from England, and to enforce strictly the penal laws against those who refused to attend the Church of England.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1604.—Such stern measures inspired with new daring and determination a desperate band of Catholic conspirators, who resolved at all hazards

to overthrow the King. Catesby, the head of the conspirators, was a zealous Catholic gentleman, of Northamptonshire, who had suffered severely for his religion. For many years he had been brooding over designs for a Catholic restoration, and at last he planned a bold and daring scheme—to blow up the Houses of Parliament



THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, FROM THE RIVER.

with gunpowder, and to excite a general rising of the Catholics.

The conspirators hired a house adjoining the palace of Westminster,[6] and guided by the skill of Guy Fawkes,[7] an Englishman who had served in the Netherlands, they proceeded to undermine the building. Their progress was slow; but having hired a cellar which ran under the

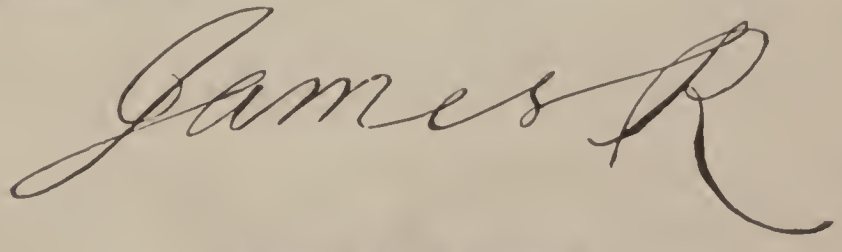
House of Lords, everything was quickly arranged and the train was ready to be fired more than a week before the appointed time.

The scheme was so audacious as almost to court detection. It is certain that the Government was aware that it was in progress; and after the principal conspirators had gone to arrange for seizing the young Prince Charles and stirring up an insurrection, the vault was entered and Fawkes was discovered and arrested.

On learning that the plot had miscarried, the conspirators fled. Catesby was killed, and his associates either shared a similar fate or were taken prisoners to expiate their crime at the block.

Although the great body of the Catholics had taken no part whatever in the plot, and regarded it with indignation, yet the public feeling was so excited, that laws still more severe were immediately passed against them.

1. **Hampton Court Palace** was presented by Wolsey to Henry VIII., and was a favourite residence of Charles I.
2. **Liturgy**, *i.e.*, the 'Book of Common Prayer' used in the Church of England.
3. **Arabella Stuart**, see table page 10. She was supported by a few enthusiasts whose affection for Elizabeth made them prefer the rule of a queen to that of a king.
4. **Jesuits**, *i.e.*, members of the Society of Jesus, a famous Roman Catholic order founded in 1536 by Ignatius Loyola.
5. **Seminary priests**, *i.e.*, from the English college or seminary for missionary priests at Rheims.
6. **The Palace of Westminster** was at one time the principal residence of the English kings, but after a great fire in 1512 it was fitted up for the Houses of Parliament. It was again destroyed by fire in 1835, after which the present noble building was erected.
7. **Guy Fawkes** was a Yorkshireman of good family.



SIGNATURE OF JAMES I.

A ROYAL HUNTING PARTY.

THE KING AND HIS PARLIAMENTS.

KING by Right Divine.—James held a very exalted view of his kingly office. He asserted that kings reigned not by the voice of their people but by the *right* bestowed upon them by the Creator, and that no human power could deprive them of that right. He also declared that such kings graciously allowed laws to be made and usually kept them, but that they were not bound to obey them upon all occasions, and might break them if they saw fit. Such a "right" has been described as "the *right* divine of kings to govern *wrong*." In this absurd notion James was sternly opposed by the Commons.

Before his first Parliament met, James gave great offence by interfering with the elections. In the short struggle that followed, the Commons established their sole right to inquire into the election of their own members; and, in opposition to the king, solemnly maintained

the position of Parliament as the highest court of the realm—giving laws to all other courts, receiving them from none.

James still further alienated the Commons by declaring that their privileges were not matters of right, but were merely allowed by the king's grace. The Commons indignantly protested that their privileges were the right and inheritance of the people of England, and warned the king against believing that he could with impunity break the laws. Thus, James gradually alienated the affections of his people, and embarked in a struggle in which his son lost his life, and his dynasty the throne.

During this first Parliament of James, his adviser was Cecil,[1] Earl of Salisbury. This statesman yielded far too much to the king's notions of absolute power, but he endeavoured to guide the foreign policy of the country after the spirit of the great Elizabethan era. He thus kept James back from a union with Spain, and for a time maintained England in its old position as champion of Protestantism in Europe. Almost his last act was to arrange for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine,[2] from which union sprang the present Royal Family of England.

The Rule of the Favourites.—Cecil and the promising Prince Henry died in the same year, and, instead of seeking the advice of statesmen, James gave himself up entirely to the influence of worthless favourites. All steady ideas of national policy, all memories of the Protestant leadership of the previous reign disappeared. The favourites flattered the king's absurd notions of his divine right, and, after a useless Parliament in 1614, urged him to throw aside the constitutional means of raising a revenue, and follow more arbitrary measures.

By reviving the system of *benevolences* or *loans* (some of which were never repaid), from the great landowners, he only proved to himself how completely he had lost the support of the gentry, whom he further exasperated by the abuse of his rights in regard to taxes on marriages and wardships.

The practice of granting *monopolies*[3] in trade or manufacture to certain persons in return for the payment of a sum of money was increased beyond all precedent. *Free gifts* were exacted from the nobles; *peerages* were virtually sold to the highest bidder; and in order to defray the expense of an army in Ireland (which was never raised), the new order of *baronet* was created.

The first of these inexperienced favourites, in whose hands the king placed the direction of affairs, was *Robert Carr*, created Viscount Rochester and afterwards Earl of Somerset, whose only qualifications were his youth, his servility, and his personal beauty. Carr was the chief cause of the extravagant expenditure of the court, which led the king to raise money by illegal means.

At first the favourite was opposed by the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, but the two factions were united by the marriage of Rochester to the daughter of the former earl. This lady had been Countess of Essex;[4] but Rochester had, with the aid of the king, procured for her a divorce from her husband. Before the trial began, Sir Thomas Overbury, the confidential adviser of Rochester, tried to dissuade his patron from the marriage. He was then on a frivolous charge committed to the Tower,[5] where he perished by poison.

The Lieutenant of the Tower soon afterwards revealed to the Secretary of State the manner of Overbury's death, and both Rochester and the Countess were brought to

trial, found guilty, and sentenced to death. But James, either from foolish clemency or from dread of dangerous disclosures, pardoned them, although their agents were executed.

The next favourite was *George Villiers*, ultimately created Duke of Buckingham. He was abler and far more ambitious than Somerset, but his vanity and rashness involved England in many serious difficulties.

Already James had entered into eager negotiations for the marriage of his son Charles, Prince of Wales, with the Spanish Infanta. The aim of Spain was to prevent him from protecting the Protestants of Germany. Probably but for the indecision of James, the difficulties that led into the great Thirty Years' War[6] might have been easily solved.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The memory of the Armada made England jealous of Spain, and the conduct of James in sacrificing to that power the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, gave greater offence to public feeling than his failure to save the Palatinate.[7]

Sir Walter Raleigh.—Sir Walter Raleigh was a man of fine and varied gifts, and had distinguished himself both as an explorer and a soldier. On account of his suspected connection with a conspiracy against the crown,[8] he had suffered an imprisonment of more than twelve years in the Tower—the weariness of which he had lightened by writing his "History of the World." He

received his freedom by holding out to James and Buckingham hopes of discovering a gold mine of marvellous value on the banks of the Orinoco, on condition that he should abstain from attacking the Spaniards.

Raleigh did not succeed in discovering the mine, and after a conflict with the Spaniards, in which he lost his son, he returned "with his brain and his heart broken." To please the Spaniards, James most unjustly ordered the old sentence to be carried out. His execution took place on a cold frosty morning in October, 1618, and the Sheriff advised Raleigh before setting out to warm himself at the fire. "Nay, let us be swift," said Raleigh, "in a few minutes my ague will return upon me, and if I be not dead before that, they will say I tremble for fear."

BACON.

The Fallen Lord Chancellor.—A third parliament was called in 1621, and the members at once proceeded to show their determination to resist the king's arbitrary method of governing. They first impeached the chief *monopolists*, who were found guilty and severely punished.

They next attacked the *Lord Chancellor Bacon*,[9] who was accused of having accepted bribes. Now Bacon, whose writings are not more remarkable for their pre-eminent ability than for their noble and elevated morality, had in vain sought to check corruption; but in accordance with a custom, then universal, he had consented to accept presents from successful suitors after their cases

had been decided. There is no proof that his decisions were influenced by money considerations; but nevertheless he was sentenced to pay a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, and to be declared unfit to hold any office connected with the State. He admitted the sentence to be "just, and for reformation's sake fit," but added that he was "the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time."

Meantime, in spite of the opposition of the Commons, the negotiations for the marriage were dragging slowly on. Buckingham at last persuaded the king to send the young Prince Charles and himself to Spain to press the suit personally. The two 'adventurous knights' travelled in disguise through France, and reached Spain in safety; but Buckingham's haughtiness offended the Spaniards, and Charles returned home without a bride.

Soon afterwards a treaty was signed for the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria of France, and an alliance concluded with France against Spain. Two years later, James died with the consciousness that his European policy had proved a failure, and that in his own kingdom the sovereign power had already passed out of his hands.

1. **Cecil** was the son of Burleigh the famous minister of Elizabeth.
2. **The Palatinate**, up to 1620, included two divisions of Upper or Bavarian and the Lower or Rhenish Palatinate. The chief towns were Mannheim and Heidelberg.
3. **Monopolies**, licenses conferring the *sole* right of *selling* certain articles.
4. **Countess of Essex**, wife of that Earl of Essex who joined the national party and became general of the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War.
5. **The Tower of London** was at that period a great political prison.
6. **Thirty Years War** between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany.
7. Frederick the Palatine Elector was James' son-in-law and the champion of the Protestant cause in Germany.
8. See note 3, page 15.
9. **Bacon** (1561-1626), the father of modern science. His chief works are, *The Advancement of Learning*, the *Novum Organum Essays*, and a *History of Henry VII.* The latter, strangely enough, seems to fill, in prose, the gap in Shakespeare's Series of Historical Plays.

CHARLES I.—THE PERIOD OF PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

CHARLES I.

THE Tonnage and Poundage Parliament, 1625.—Although little or nothing was known of the character of Charles when he succeeded to the throne,[1] he had become rather a popular favourite. His whole demeanour and conduct were strikingly different from those of his father. He was formal, dignified, and attentive to all the decencies of life.

His betrothal to the daughter of the King of France was not liked; but when the young queen passed up the Thames [2] towards London, she was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the multitude, who crowded into barges and thronged every point of vantage along the river's banks.

But the continuance of his connection with Buckingham was sufficient to prejudice the nation against him, and the first Parliament which Charles summoned declined to commit itself to warlike enterprises of which little was known except that they were invented by Buckingham. Instead, therefore, of the £1,000,000 asked for by Charles to carry on the war against Spain, the Commons refused to grant more than £140,000.

Further, the leaders of the Commons saw clearly that, to ensure constitutional government, the revenue must

be granted year by year. Experience has proved that they were right; for to this day, even under our beloved Queen, Parliament pursues the same plan. A change was felt to be necessary, and the accession of a new king was seen to be a favourable opportunity. Accordingly, the Commons voted the duties of *tonnage* and *poundage*[3] (which had in previous reigns been given to the sovereign for life) *for one year only.*

In the first year of Charles's reign there was a terrible outbreak of the plague[4] in London, and on this account the Parliament adjourned to Oxford. It was proceeding to embody complaints against Buckingham, when Charles dissolved it. Both Buckingham and Charles were confident that the opposition would at once cease after the brilliant blow which they were about to strike against Spain.

The Cadiz Expedition, 1625.—Their device was to fit out an expedition to capture the treasure-ships[5] of Spain returning from America, and it was also intended to make a descent on some part of the Spanish coast. For this purpose a strong fleet was sent out, but after two attempts to capture Cadiz,[6] baffled by the cowardice of the crews in the merchant vessels, it stood out to sea in search of the treasure-ships, which, two days after it left, stole into Cadiz Bay.

The English ships were now forced to return, but so old and rotten were many of them that it was almost impossible to keep them afloat.

The Buckingham Parliament, 1626.—Charles had thus to meet his new Parliament not only deeply involved in debt but disgraced by failure. The Commons met him with complaint and remonstrance.

On the motion of Sir John Eliot, the fearless and

eloquent leader of the Commons, it was resolved at once to *impeach*[7] *Buckingham*, who was denounced by Eliot as having "broken those nerves and sinews of our land, the stores and treasures of the king." He was also charged with many acts of bribery and corruption. Charles at once declared his own responsibility for the acts of Buckingham, and rather than sacrifice his minister, dissolved the Parliament.

The money which the Commons would not vote, it was determined to raise by a forced loan, which in the country was met with general resistance. Payment was required even from the poorest tradesman. The rich who refused to pay were imprisoned, on the middle class were billeted soldiers and sailors, while the poor were impressed into the army and navy.

Meantime, Buckingham led Charles into a war with France. The Duke made a descent on the Isle of Rhé,[8] but had to retire, having lost more than half of his troops.

The Petition of Right Parliament, 1628.—Charles was compelled to summon a third Parliament to grant money for this unfortunate war. The Commons resolved to make the best possible use of the opportunity, and refused to grant supplies until Charles gave his assent to the famous *Petition of Right*. This great measure was called forth by the illegal acts of the Crown between the second and third Parliaments. It received its name because it was drawn up in the form of a *petition*, and because the Commons claimed what they asked as the *right* of the people of England.

It first referred to the old laws forbidding the imposition of any tax or loan without the consent of Parliament, and then pointed out how the king's officers had

CHARLES I. AND HIS FAMILY.

broken these laws. Accordingly the Commons requested that no sums of money should in future be exacted without a parliamentary grant; that men should not be imprisoned or in any way molested for refusing to pay such illegal demands; that soldiers and sailors should never again be billeted on private houses;[9] and that trial by martial law should be abolished.

Charles at first gave his assent in a very ambiguous way, and only after considerable pressure did he use the customary phrase, "Let right be done as it is desired."[10]

Supplies having thus been obtained, the Parliament was prorogued till the spring. Buckingham in the meantime fitted out another magnificent expedition to lay siege to Rochelle, and at Portsmouth was preparing for embarkation, when his career was suddenly ended by the knife of an assassin.

The death of Buckingham made no change in the policy of Charles, who soon showed that he interpreted the Petition of Right in a sense quite different from that intended by the Commons. For disputing his claims to levy tonnage and poundage, and opposing innovations in religion, the Parliament was suddenly dissolved.[11]

1. Charles was then in his twenty-fifth year.
2. At that time, the Thames was the chief highway of London, and the scene of the great royal processions.
3. **Tonnage** and **Poundage**, *i.e.*, import and export duties on every *tun* of wine and on every *pound* of certain merchandise.
4. **The Plague.** In London alone over 35,000 died in one year (1625).
5. **Treasure-ships**, *i.e.*, the ships which brought the gold and silver from the Spanish colonies in America.
6. **Cadiz**, an important port on the south-west coast of Spain.
7. **Impeach.** Impeachment is usually directed against an offending minister of the crown. The Commons act as accusers and the Lords as judges—the former being required to prove an infraction of the law of the land.
8. **Rhé**, an island off the west coast of France.
9. When necessary, soldiers may still be billeted on public-houses and hotels.
10. The consent of the sovereign to an Act of Parliament is still given in the same words, not in English but in the old French form: "*Soit droit fait comme il est desiré.*"
11. Eliot, who proposed the resolutions against the king's demands, was confined in the Tower, where three years afterwards he died.

PERIOD OF ABSOLUTE RULE. 1629–1640.

STRAFFORD.

THE Rule of Thorough.—After Charles dissolved his refractory Parliament, no other was summoned for eleven years. This period of his rule has been called the reign of 'Thorough,' a name invented by *Wentworth*, the chief instrument in carrying out the policy it describes.

Wentworth was a Yorkshire gentleman of good family, who in Parliament had been for some time an opponent of the measures of the court and had strongly supported the Petition of Right. He now joined the king's party and took Buckingham's place as chief minister of the crown.

Wentworth's ideal of 'Thorough' was that the king should be as thoroughly absolute "as any prince in the whole world could be." Like all despotisms, it professed to employ in the offices of State only persons thoroughly qualified to discharge their special duties, and to have a thorough regard to the prosperity and power of the nation. Unhappily it meant also the thorough extinction of all political and religious liberty by the tyrannical procedure of the Star Chamber [1] and the High Court of Commission.[2]

For his support of the king Wentworth was created Viscount, and appointed Lord President of the Council of the North.[3] From this office he was, at his own

request, transferred as Lord Deputy[4] to Ireland. Under his arbitrary but able rule Ireland enjoyed a prosperity such as has never since fallen to her lot. The Irish Parliament,[5] the wishes of the people, even the written law, were set at nought, and having thus made the power of Charles absolute in Ireland he purposed to extend the same despotism to England.

By the careful management of the *Lord Treasurer Weston*, a great part of the debt of the Crown was soon paid off; and with the prosperity following several years of peace, it was hoped that the nation would quietly submit to the arbitrary acts of the king.

Religious Persecution.—*Laud*, Archbishop of Canterbury, sought to establish a religious rule of 'thorough' no less sweeping than Wentworth's political one. Not only did he seek to repress every form of Puritanism, and to establish an absolute uniformity in regard to belief and modes of worship, but the changes caused the people to fear that he wished to restore Catholicism.

To escape these persecutions many Puritans emigrated to America. Already, more than ten years before Laud had succeeded to power, the small ship "Mayflower" had landed its company of Pilgrim Fathers on the shores of Massachusetts.

During the persecutions of Laud, the colony was yearly increased by two or three thousand immigrants, who preferred to call that "their country where they could most glorify God and enjoy the presence of their dearest friends."

Ship-Money.—In the direction of political affairs Laud was not in any degree more fortunate. Many illegal means of raising a revenue were adopted, but by

far the most notorious was the levy of *Ship-Money* for the navy. This was intended to be followed by a tax for the support of an army, so that, in the words of Wentworth, *the king* "would be absolute at home and formidable abroad." The objections to this imposition were many. It was levied without consent of Parliament in defiance of old laws and of the Petition of Right; it had originally been meant for the defence of the coast from sudden attack, but it was now raised in a time of peace; it had been a tax upon seaport towns, it was now extended to inland districts—in fact, it was in every respect most unreasonable and arbitrary.

JOHN HAMPDEN.

Accordingly the levy of this tax was resisted by John Hampden, a wealthy Commoner of tried character and great ability. He had already been imprisoned in the Tower for refusing to contribute to the forced loans, but he was as dauntless as ever.

The judges, by a majority, decided against him, but the effect of the trial on the public mind more than counterbalanced the legal triumph of the Government.

The National Covenant.—Matters were brought to a crisis by Laud's attempt to enforce the use of a prayer-book in the services of the Scotch Church. The experiment was first made in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh; but the first words uttered from it were the signal for a violent uproar, a stool was

aimed at the head of the bishop, and a riot ensued which, but for the prompt action of the authorities, might have had serious consequences.

The excitement rapidly spread throughout the country. The Assembly of the Church solemnly abolished Episcopacy, and it was resolved at once to form a National Covenant in defence of their liberty and religion. In the early dawn of a cold spring morning the signing of the Covenant was begun in the picturesque churchyard of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh. The first day it was signed by noblemen and gentlemen of property, the next day the ministers and the commissioners of the boroughs, and then by the great mass of the people.

It is said that some, in token of their inflexible resolution, drew their own blood and used it in place of ink to sign their names. Similar scenes followed in every town and hamlet of the country, until the whole nation, almost to a man, was united in a solemn bond against the innovations of Laud.

Charles sent a fleet to overawe Edinburgh, and collected an army at York; but the rapid advance towards the border of 20,000 Scots, under Leslie, induced him at once to treat with them and promise to consider their demands. Subsequently, however, the requests of the Scotch were rejected, and Charles resolved to renew the war.

1. **The Star Chamber** was composed of the Privy Council, the two chief justices and certain bishops.
2. **The High Court of Commission** was nominated by the king, and took cognisance of ecclesiastical offences.
3. **The Council of the North** exercised irresponsible authority in the counties north of the Trent, and extorted taxes and tried political offenders. These three Courts were all irresponsible and arbitrary, in so far as there was no appeal from their decision, and the punishments were summary. The members of the Star Chamber, for instance, inflicted the severest punishments for disobedience to illegal proclamations which, as Privy Council, they had themselves issued.
4. **Lord Deputy**, or Lord Lieutenant or Viceroy, who represents the Sovereign, and is intrusted with the chief executive power.
5. **The Irish Parliament**, at that time, and long after, represented only the Protestant section of the people of Ireland.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

THE breaking waves dashed high on a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky their giant branches tossed,
And the heavy night hung dark the hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark on the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes, they, the true-hearted, came—
Not with the roll of stirring drums, and the trumpet that sings of fame:
Not as the flying come, in silence and in fear—
They shook the depths of the desert's gloom with their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang, and the stars heard, and the sea!
And the sounding aisles of the dim wood rang to the anthems of the free:
The ocean-eagle soared from his nest by the white waves' foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared—this was their welcome home!

There were men with hoary hair amidst that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there, away from their childhood's land?
There was woman's fearless eye, lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow, serenely high, and the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar? bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas? the spoils of war? They sought a faith's pure shrine!
Ay, call it holy ground, the soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found—freedom to worship God!

MRS. HEMANS.

RENEWAL OF PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

The Short Parliament.—To obtain the necessary supplies Charles summoned a Parliament in 1640. As it refused to vote money till the grievances of the nation were redressed, it was dissolved within three weeks, and is thus known as the *Short Parliament.*

Strafford advanced towards Scotland with what troops could be gathered together; but the Scotch army, both irritated and emboldened by the evasive policy of Charles, crossed the Tweed, and routing an English outpost, seized Newcastle. The undisciplined troops of the king could not be induced to attack them, and Charles was compelled to leave Northumberland and Durham in their hands as a pledge for the payment of their war expenses.

The Long Parliament.—Again Charles was forced to summon a Parliament to grant the necessary supplies.

The Parliament which then met, is known in history as the *Long Parliament*,[1] the work of which had more momentous consequences than those of any other English Parliament either before or since. The Commons found an able and resolute leader in Pym, whose influence soon became so great that by friends and foes he was known as King Pym. The Commons, refusing to vote supplies, divided their work into three parts—*investigation of abuses, punishment of delinquents,* and *adoption of remedies.*

For the first of these duties, numerous committees were appointed to receive the petitions which came pouring in from all parts of the country. These gave full particulars of all the illegal acts of the Crown in the dif-

ferent districts, and named the officials who had acted as agents of the king. They thus furnished the information required for the just punishment of the guilty.

The name 'delinquent,' as well as the more bitter

ARREST OF STRAFFORD.

one of 'malignant,' had been applied in Sir John Eliot's resolution of the year 1629 to all who introduced changes in religion, to all who advised the levying

of taxes not granted by Parliament, to all who helped in the raising of such illegal subsidies, and even to those who voluntarily paid them. Such offenders were declared to be capital enemies of the Commonwealth; and the Commons now determined to bring the criminals to trial.

Many of the court party fled from the country; Laud was committed to the Tower; and it was resolved to impeach Strafford of high treason. It was not difficult to show that Strafford had frequently trampled the law under foot, but the evidence of treason was insufficient. Parliament, however, by a Bill of Attainder, condemned him to death.

Charles had solemnly pledged his word to save the Earl at all hazards; but his courage failed him in the difficult crisis. In dread of the mob which surrounded Whitehall, and not knowing how to thwart the resolve of the Parliament, he gave his assent to the bill, and thus sacrificed the life of his minister to save those of his own wife and children.

"Put not your trust in princes," said the unfortunate Strafford as he went to meet his fate with proud tranquillity. Before an immense multitude, he stepped cheerfully to the block on Tower Hill. The falling of the fatal axe was greeted with a loud shout of joy, the blazing of bonfires, and the ringing of bells. His death, they thought, had delivered their country from a terrible danger.

After the death of Strafford, the Parliament immediately set itself to a thorough *redress of abuses.* The tyrannical courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission were abolished; the levying of ship-money was interdicted and the sentence against Hampden an-

nulled; and all arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative, either for taxation or imprisonment of the subject, was declared illegal.

They next passed a Triennial Bill to prevent any repetition of a long period of rule without Parliament; and then decreed that the present Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.[2] The money was then voted for the payment of the Scottish army, which at once returned home.

The Immediate Causes of the Civil War.—Charles soon afterwards went north to Scotland and entered into an intrigue to win the Covenanters over to his support against the Parliament of England, by professing to yield to the demands of the Assembly.[3] All that he gained by this crooked policy was to put the Parliamentary leaders on their guard; and, at that very time, tidings arrived from Ireland which filled the nation with horror and increased their distrust of the king.

There had taken place a *massacre of Protestants* and English, falsely rumoured, to the number of 200,000.[4] The murderers claimed to be acting by warrant of Charles, and styled themselves the 'King's Army.' That Charles could have had any connection with them is utterly incredible, but the Parliament at once rushed to the conclusion that the plot was but part of one great design for the destruction of the liberties of the nation.

The fears of Pym and his followers were increased by the growth of a strong moderate party within the House of Commons. They felt that, unless they kept up the popular excitement, their lives would be at the mercy of the king. Accordingly it was resolved by the leaders to draw up a *Grand Remonstrance*, giving an account of all the illegal acts of Charles since his accession to the

throne. It ascribed his illegal course of action to the influence of evil advisers, and it demanded that only those persons should be admitted to his counsels who possessed the confidence of the Parliament.

After a long and stormy debate, the Remonstrance was carried by a majority of eleven. At one time the temper of the members became so warm that swords were drawn, and a desperate personal struggle seemed imminent when a calm question of Hampden quieted the stormy scene.

A few days afterwards the king, on his return from Scotland, entered the city in state, and was entertained at a splendid banquet in the Guildhall. The citizens, still loyal to their sovereign, received him with shouts of welcome. Elated by his enthusiastic reception in the city, he treated the Remonstrance, when presented to him at Hampton Court, with good-humoured contempt, and entirely ignored its demands.

At once, the whole tone of feeling in the city completely altered. Crowds of apprentices began to gather round Whitehall [5] during the discussion of a *Bill for the exclusion of bishops from the Lords;* and with shouts of 'No bishops!' hustled them on their way to the House. Conflicts became frequent between them and the courtiers. The latter, in mockery of their affected military air, were nicknamed *Cavaliers;* [6] the former, in scornful allusion to their cropped hair, were dubbed *Roundheads.*[7]

During the disputes regarding the bishops, news reached Charles of an intention *to impeach the queen* on account of her supposed connection with intrigues against the Parliament. Pym, Hampden, and other three leaders were accused of high treason at the bar of the Commons and *their immediate arrest demanded.*[8] Previous to this

their studies had been sealed up by the king's orders. The Commons appointed a committee to consider his demand, but at the same time arrested the officers who had carried out the royal mandate.

Charles was urged by the queen to seize the five members in the House by armed force. "Go, you coward," she exclaimed, "and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more." When it became known that Charles was approaching the House with five hundred armed followers, the accused members left their places and rowed down the river to the city. Charles, when he took up his position at the Speaker's chair, found that his 'birds had flown;' and withdrew amid indignant cries of 'Privilege! Privilege!'[9]

The violent proceedings of the king aroused the darkest fears. The Commons, for greater security, withdrew to the city, where they sat in committee in the Guildhall and denounced the conduct of the king as treason. The train-bands[10] turned out in their defence; and Charles, learning that they were about to return to Westminster, retired to Hampton Court. The time for compromise was now past, and both parties began to prepare for an appeal to the sword.

1. **The Long Parliament** nominally existed for nearly twenty years, but it actually sat only from 1640 to 1653, and then for a few days in 1660. It was thus not in reality the longest Parliament; the Pension Parliament of Charles II. sat regularly for eighteen years (1661-1679).
2. This was the first decidedly unconstitutional step taken by the Parliament.
3. The *first* immediate cause of the Civil War probably was what is known as the 'Incident,' or flight of Argyle and Hamilton, the two leaders in Scotland of the party opposed to the king. Charles was believed to be implicated in a plot for killing or carrying them away. This, and the massacre in Ireland, led to the drawing up of the Grand Remonstrance, by which the hostile feeling to Charles was revived.
4. Most probably not over 40,000 actually perished.
5. **Whitehall**, at that time a royal palace. Like Hampton Court it was granted to Henry VIII. by Wolsey.
6. **Cavaliers**, *i.e.*, horsemen.
7. **Roundheads**, a term of contempt, referring to the close-cropped hair of the Puritans.
8. This incident is usually called 'the attempted arrest of the five Members.' They were Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, Hollis, and Strode.
9. It is one of the privileges of Parliament, that no member can be in any way interfered with for anything said or done in the Commons except by the action of the Commons themselves.
10. **Train-bands**, equivalent to the modern militia.

THE CIVIL WAR

Scale of English Miles

50 100 150

THE CIVIL WAR.

1642–1646.

THE Beginning of the Struggle.—The time had now come when the question whether king or Parliament was to be supreme could only be settled by an appeal to arms. The struggle was to be a long and severe one; in it one king lost his life, a second his throne, and a whole dynasty their right of succession. At its beginning, all moderate men regarded the contest with sorrow and regret.

The king seems to have seen, before his opponents, that nothing but war could decide the points in dispute. Accordingly, the queen was sent over to Holland [1] with the crown jewels to raise money and purchase arms. The Commons urged the king to resign to Parliament the command of the militia—then the only standing force of the realm. Upon his refusal, they passed the necessary ordinance without his consent.

Charles now retired to Yorkshire; and the first actual check was given to his arms at Hull, on the 23rd of April 1642. Here, Sir John Hotham the governor refused either to admit the king with his party, or to give up to them the great magazine of arms and ammunition which had been stored there for the war against the Scots. Parliament also secured Portsmouth [2] and the Tower of London,[3] and resolved to "put the kingdom in a posture of defence."

Geographically, it may be said that London and the parts about it, with the eastern counties, were devoted to the Parliament; while Wales, with the North and South-west, were on the whole inclined to the king. Of

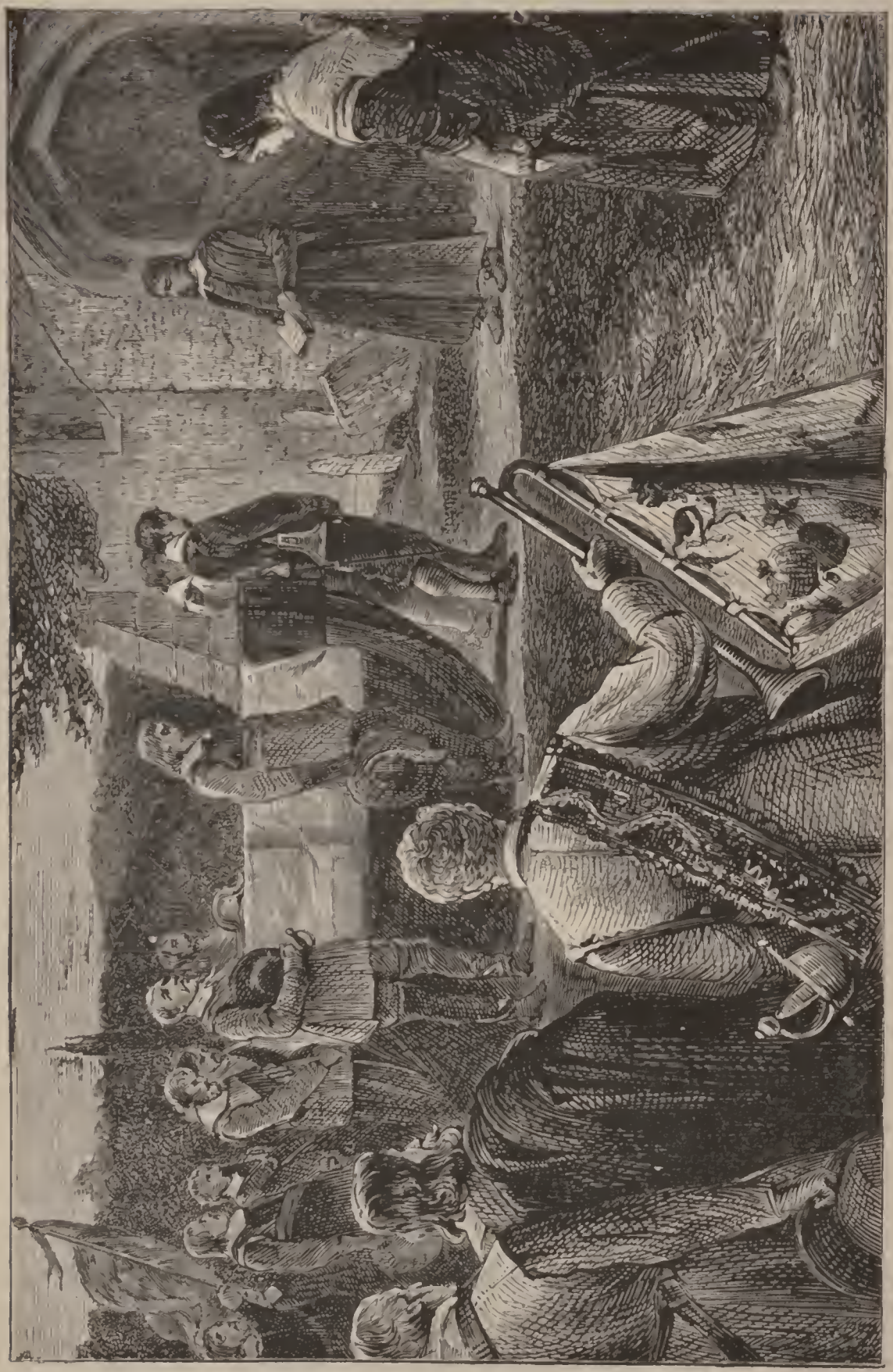
classes of society, the nobles and their retainers were enthusiastically royalist; but the citizen, the merchant, and the artizan were firm supporters of the National Assembly. Finally, of *religious parties*, those holding high-church principles were unfaltering in their attachment to the cause and person of the monarch; while the Puritans were the most formidable of his opponents, and the most determined adherents to the cause of popular liberty.

The command of the royal army was given to the Earl of Lindsay, but the king himself and his nephews Rupert and Maurice exercised a paramount influence. The Earl of Essex[4] was general of the Parliamentary army, which began to gather in the midland counties.

On the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day in August 1642, Charles set up his standard at *Nottingham*, where he was joined by many noblemen and gentlemen from London.

Cavaliers successful in Campaigns of 1642 and 1643.—From Nottingham, Charles proceeded westward; and, having gathered a considerable force at Shrewsbury, resolved to march on London. Essex, advancing to intercept him, fell in with the royal forces encamped on *Edgehill*,[5] on the borders of Warwickshire. Led by the fiery Prince Rupert,[6] the cavalry of Charles dashed against both wings of the army of Essex and scattered them in headlong flight; but the Parliamentary infantry broke the centre of the royal line and all but captured the royal standard. Night fell while victory was yet undecided. On the morrow Essex fell back on London, while Charles established himself at Oxford.

During the year 1643, the tide of success still flowed in favour of the Cavaliers. The noble Hampden was



FUNERAL OF HAMPDEN.

mortally wounded at *Chalgrove Field*,[7] in one of the numerous sorties of Rupert; and in the north, the Parliamentary army under Fairfax was defeated and almost driven out of Yorkshire by the gallant Earl of Newcastle. The midland counties, too, were completely in the grasp of the king; while the south-western district was, by victories at *Bath*, *Devizes*,[8] and *Bristol*, wrested out of the hands of the Parliament.

Charles might now have marched direct upon London, but he turned aside and laid siege to *Gloucester* instead. He was compelled by Essex (whose army had been largely increased) to raise the siege; and the hopes of Parliament were revived by an indecisive battle at *Newbury*.[9] Here the king lost one of his wisest and most moderate advisers—Lord Falkland, who seemed glad to escape by death from the miseries awaiting his country.

Men of Religion against Men of Honour.—Meanwhile, a force of a different kind was being raised in the eastern counties on behalf of the Parliament. The Earl of Manchester was the nominal general there, but the moving spirit and coming 'hero' was a man of a different stamp. Oliver Cromwell,[10] a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, detected at once the cause of the Parliament's failure and the precise method of securing success. The troops of Charles, he pointed out, were "gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality," while the train-bands of Essex were chiefly "old decayed serving-men and tapsters. . . . . To cope with men of honour they must have men of religion."

Acting on the conviction that "a few honest men are better than numbers," and that if he "chose godly men to be captains of horse, honest men would soon follow them," he set himself to organise a regiment

on these principles. In every skirmish and engagement, Cromwell's 'Ironsides' were invincible; and with honest pride he could say of them, "Truly they were never beaten at all."

1. Charles's daughter Mary was married to William of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland.
2. **Portsmouth.** It would have been of great advantage to the king to hold Portsmouth, as he could then easily have communicated with the Continent.
3. **The Tower of London** was a strong fortress as well as a political prison.
4. See note 4, page 21.
5. **Edgehill** lies about 16 miles south of Warwick.
6. **Rupert** and **Maurice** were the sons of the Elector Palatine and Elizabeth, the sister of Charles.
7. **Chalgrove Field,** in Berkshire, 15 miles south-east of Oxford.
8. The victories of Bath and Devizes are sometimes called *Lansdown* and *Roundway Down.*
9. **Newbury,** in Berks, 50 miles west of London. See also page 44.
10. **Cromwell,** the "King of the Fens," was born in 1599.

THE CIVIL WAR—*continued.*

THE Turn of the Tide.—When Cromwell went to join the army in the north the tide of success suddenly retreated from Charles. The Scots, with whom the Parliament had now made a Solemn League and Covenant,[1] crossed the border under Lord Leven and joined in the siege of York, which was held by Newcastle with 6000 men.

Prince Rupert, with an army of 20,000 men, hurried from Lancashire to his relief, and slipped past the besiegers into the city. With his usual impetuosity, he urged Newcastle at once to give battle; and, at seven o'clock on the evening of July 2nd 1644, was fought the decisive battle of *Marston Moor.*[2] The right wing of the Parliamentary army was unsuccessful in its attack, and its centre was broken by the Royalist cavalry. But the fortunes of the day were rescued and victory won by the 'Ironsides' of Cromwell. Having routed all the cavalry of Prince Rupert, they charged the royal

regiments of foot and put them to utter rout. By this disaster,[3] the whole of the north was lost to the king's cause.

Meanwhile, the king himself had defeated two Parliamentary armies in succession.[4] The second was that of Essex, whose slow movements allowed Charles to completely surround his forces. The hesitating Earl escaped by sea, his cavalry cut their way through the enemy, but the infantry were forced to capitulate.

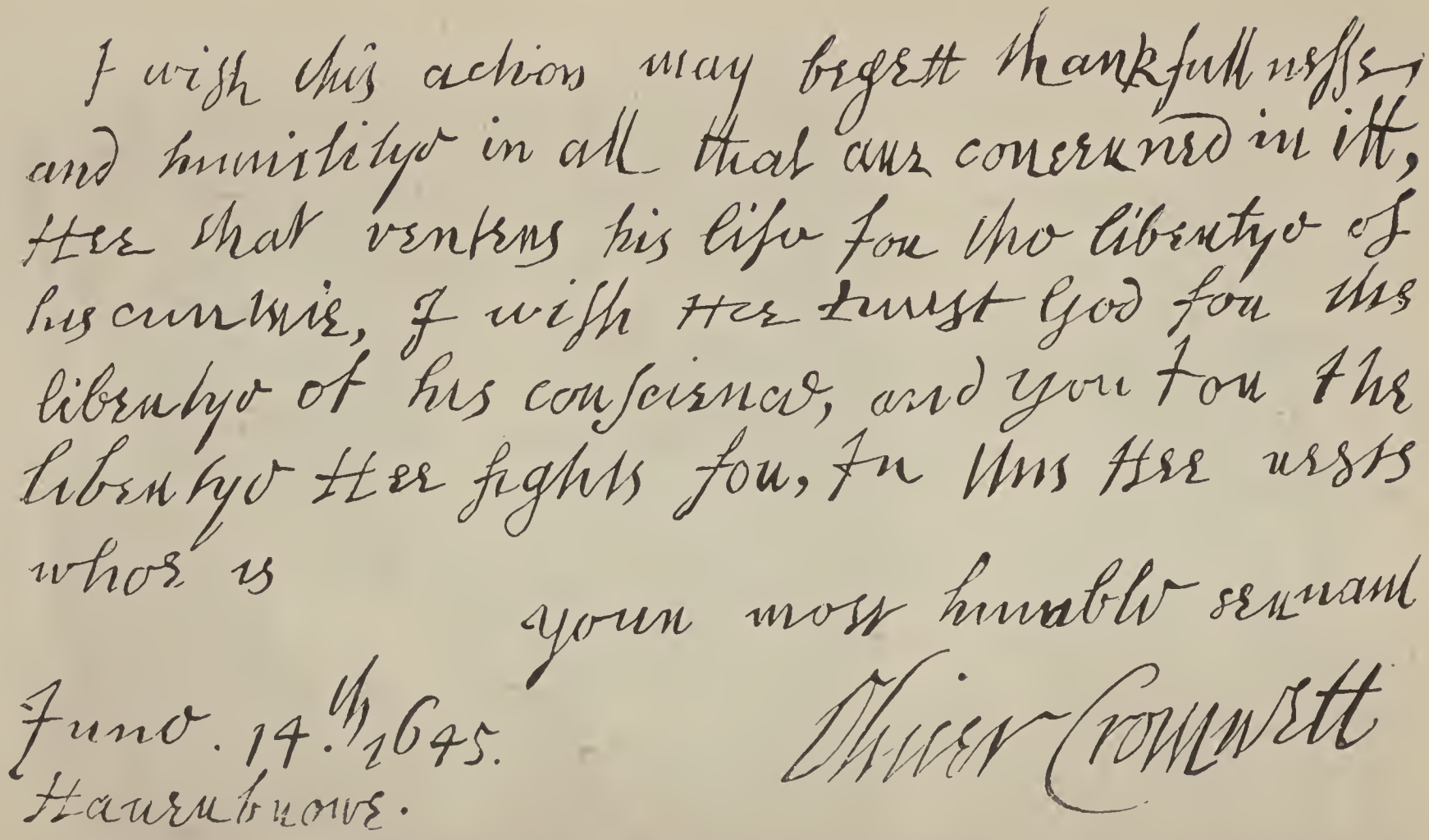
Nevertheless, Parliament furnished both of their defeated generals with new armies, and called Manchester with Cromwell from the north. The victorious troops of the king were then encountered at *Newbury*;[5] the Parliamentary forces had the best of the engagement, but permitted the enemy to march off unmolested "by moonlight at ten o'clock."

Cromwell, after vainly urging Manchester to allow him to pursue, charged him with "being indisposed and backward in prosecuting the war."

The Re-Modelling of the Army, 1645.—Parliament, at the instance of Cromwell, finally determined to remodel the army. In the first place, to remove those officers who had proved 'so slow in action,' it was decreed, by what was known as a Self-denying Ordinance, that no member of either House of Parliament should hold any command during the war. Further, it was resolved, that instead of a number of different armies under independent commanders, there should be but one compact, well-ordered force.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief; and the army, with the special assistance of Cromwell, was reorganised on the 'New Model.' The aim was to raise twenty thousand men of character

MARSTON MOOR.


I wish this action may begett thankfull nesse
and humilitye in all that are concerned in itt,
Hee that ventures his life for the libertye of
his countrie, I wish Hee trust God for his
libertye of his conscience, and you for the
libertye Hee fights for, In this Hee rests
whose is

your most humble servant

Oliver Cromwell

June. 14.th 1645.
Haverhouse.

Facsimile of a portion of the letter written by Cromwell to the Speaker of the House of Commons announcing the victory of Naseby. (Engraved from the original in the Harleian MSS., British Museum.) See note 7, p. 48.

similar to the Ironsides of Cromwell. The officers, chosen with the utmost care, were selected from every station in life; many of them were gentlemen of rank and property, but farmers, shoemakers, and tailors were equally eligible. The one essential was that they should be men of tried ability, of resolute purpose, and of decided religious convictions.

It was soon discovered that the services of Cromwell with the remodelled army were indispensable; and, on the petition of Fairfax and his officers, he was appointed lieutenant-general and commander of the horse.

The Battle of Naseby.—With such an army, the success of the Roundheads was swift and decisive. Charles, who was marching northwards to join Montrose,[6] was encountered by the New-Model army on the high moors of *Naseby*[7] on the borders of Northamptonshire.

As usual, the impetuous onset of Rupert carried all before it, but he persevered in his pursuit further than was prudent. Cromwell, with his Ironsides, charging down hill, routed the wing opposed to them; and then, wheeling round, dashed into the flank of the king's infantry, which broke and fled before Prince Rupert could come to the rescue.

When at last the horse of Rupert returned exulting but exhausted, they were totally unprepared to meet the attack of Cromwell, and at the first charge "broke all asunder." The ruin of the royal cause was accomplished almost at a blow. The baggage and artillery of the Royalists, along with the carriage and private papers[8] of Charles, were left behind. Five thousand prisoners were taken, and the fugitives never again formed a combined force.

The King in the hands of the Scots.—Charles, after wandering for ten months from stronghold to stronghold, decided at last to give himself up to the Scots encamped at Newark, in the hope that he would be able to come to terms with them. At first, there was some probability that his attempt to win them over would be successful; but, ultimately, they agreed to deliver him to a committee of the Houses on payment of £400,000 for their expenses in the war.

Meantime, the surrender of *Bristol*[9] gave the death-blow to the royal cause in the south-west of England. With the capture of *Harlech Castle*,[20] the last stronghold of the king in Wales fell into the hands of the Parliament; and the overwhelming defeat of Montrose at *Philiphaugh*, near Selkirk, utterly extinguished the transient gleam of hope kindled in Scotland by the victory of *Kilsyth*.

1. By this Covenant they bound themselves to fight for the defence of their king, their liberty, their religion, and of one another.
2. **Marston Moor,** 5 miles west of York.
3. **Disaster,** means that which is under an *Evil Star*—the word points back to the old belief in astrology.
4. Those of Waller and Essex, which had surrounded Charles at Oxford, and might have compelled him to surrender but that their mutual jealousy caused them to separate; and thus Charles was able to defeat them in succession—Waller at *Cropredy Bridge* in Oxfordshire, and Essex at *Lostwithiel* in Cornwall.
5. **Newbury,** see note 9, page 43.
6. During the year 1644-5 the Scotch Royalists under Montrose gained several important victories, and made themselves masters of nearly the whole of Scotland. See also page 69.
7. **Naseby,** a few miles west of Northampton. The latter part of Cromwell's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons (of which we give a *facsimile* on page 46) announcing the victory is as follows (spelling modernised):—

   "I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for. In this he rests who is—Your most humble servant,

   "OLIVER CROMWELL.

   "*June 14th*, 1645."
8. Charles's correspondence was then published under the title of 'The King's Cabinet Opened.'
9. **Bristol** was held by Rupert with a well-equipped force, but he surrendered at the first assault. This bitterly disappointed Charles, who immediately sent his nephew a passport, requesting him to leave the country.
10. **Harlech Castle,** in Merionethshire. There is a famous Welsh air called the "March of the Men of Harlech."

THE KING DELIVERED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS.

THE KING A CAPTIVE.

MILTON.

THE King in the hands of the Parliament.—For four months, the unfortunate king was a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament.[1] The greater part of that time was spent at Holdenby or Holmby House in Northamptonshire. There, the spring and early summer of 1647 passed quietly and peacefully. Charles enjoyed the simple country life with its soothing sights and sounds and its gentle sports. It must have been a pleasant change after these years of toil and combat.

Still, he was prevented from enjoying free intercourse with his friends, and somewhat interfered with in the exercise of his religion. Charles, as you know, was an Episcopalian, while the majority of the Commons were Presbyterians; they had taken an oath to uphold the Solemn League and Covenant, had forbidden the use of the liturgy throughout England, and were most high-handed in their determination to abolish Episcopacy.

The intolerance of the Presbyterians was opposed by the other great section of the Puritans. These *Independents*,[2] as they were called, were in the minority in Parliament, but formed the bulk of the army. The cause for which they had fought was not that of the supremacy of the Parliament, but above all things that of toleration and liberty of conscience.

Stern and severe as these men were, they nevertheless were the first to proclaim that doctrine of personal liberty in its highest sense which it has been England's special mission to teach to the nations of the earth. They were persuaded that—

> "All constraint
> Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
> Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
> Their progress in the road of science, blinds
> The eyesight of discovery, and begets
> In those that suffer it a sordid mind,
> Bestial,[3] a meagre intellect, unfit
> To be the tenant of man's noble form."

Milton, the great poet of Puritanism and the secretary and friend of Cromwell, has rendered himself almost as illustrious by his noble defence of liberty in his prose writings as by his immortal poem *Paradise Lost*.[4] His hope, and that of the leaders of the army, was to establish a new regime in which "Truth would be *free* to grapple with Falsehood." Of London, his birthplace, he had fondly prophesied that it was about to become a true "city of refuge, the mansion house of *liberty* encompassed by God's protection."

To weaken their opponents, Parliament, which was strongly supported by the city of London, resolved to reduce the army to twelve thousand men, who were to be under the command of two Presbyterian generals, and to be sent to quell the rebellion in Ireland. The army, however, refused to be disbanded, and protested that its arrears of pay were still due. It declared that the plan of the Parliament was "a treacherous snare to separate the soldiers from the officers whom they loved, and to cover the ambition of a few men who have tasted

sovereignty, and, in order to remain masters, degenerate into tyrants;" and it also made manifest its resolve that the cause for which it had fought should be wrecked neither by the tyranny of the Parliament nor the plots of the king.

The aim of Charles, as he himself confessed, was to "draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with him for the extirpating of the other." If he succeeded in making these two parties 'fall out,' there was every likelihood that he would in this way 'come to his own.' At last he agreed to favour Presbyterianism for at least three years, and it was rumoured that on this condition the Parliament were about to permit him to return to London.

The King in the hands of the Army.—In such a crisis, hesitation was ruin; and the army at once set the Parliament at defiance. On the morning of the 3d of June 1647, a certain Cornet Joyce with 500 men appeared at Holdenby House, where the king was still in charge of the guard of the commissioners. When he appeared before Charles and informed him that he must set out to the army at Newmarket, the king asked him for his commission. "It is behind me," said Joyce, pointing to his soldiers; upon which Charles, with good-humoured flattery, remarked that it "was written in very fine and legible characters." When Fairfax afterwards declared to the king that he had given no commission for the seizure, Joyce said, "I acted by order of the army. Let it be assembled, and if three-fourths do not approve of the act, I consent to be hanged at the head of my regiment."

Charles remained in the hands of the army for six months. He accompanied it as it gradually advanced from Newmarket to London, and was then lodged in his

palace of Hampton Court. He was there treated with the utmost respect, and his circumstances had the outward appearance of royal splendour. He was indeed a prisoner, and carefully guarded; but his friends were allowed to visit him, his heart was gladdened by the sight of his children, and there was no interference with the performance of his religious duties.

Further, the officers submitted most favourable terms for settling the matters in dispute—terms much more moderate than the Parliament had been willing to offer, and remarkably mild for men of such strong convictions and unflinching determination. Episcopacy was to be restored, but a religious liberty almost as complete as that enjoyed in England at the present time was to be permitted.

Charles seemed to regard these proposals favourably; but all the time he was secretly treating with the leaders of the Presbyterian party in Parliament, as well as with the Scots and the Irish. While we cannot overlook this double-dealing, we must remember that the king believed in his divine right, and regarded both Presbyterians and Independents as wicked enemies whom it was lawful to defeat in any possible way.

The feeling between Parliament and army—which really meant between Presbyterians and Independents—became more and more bitter. Accordingly the king, thinking his opportunity had come, began to frown upon the very favourable terms he had before seemed to accept. His friends were astonished, and remonstrated with him. "You will soon see," said he, "that they will be only too glad to propose more just conditions."

One of the officers[5] warned him. "Sire, it is not you who can be the judge between the Parliament and us, but

we who are willing to mediate between the Parliament and you." Charles confidently replied, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not uphold you."

It seemed at one time as if the king were correct in his judgment. The Parliament began to enrol the militia of London for their defence, the Presbyterian populace of the capital became more and more turbulent, and the Independent minority of the Commons took refuge in the camp. A bloody struggle seemed impending; when the army boldly entered the city, forced their opponents to give them a humble welcome, and restored the fugitive members of Parliament, which at once yielded all their demands.

Even then, when the army was supreme, Charles finally refused the terms which had been so often pressed upon him. The officers felt that it was hopeless to treat further with him, and realised that to preserve their own safety it would be better to leave him to himself. Charles was now treated with far less respect, his friends were dismissed from his side, and his guards were doubled. A large number of the army, named the levelling party, began to clamour for justice on him whom they denounced as the 'chief delinquent.'[6] Charles may probably have become afraid of bodily harm; it is said, indeed, that he received an unsigned letter warning him of the urgency of his danger.[7] However that may be, on the night of the 11th of November he made his escape from what had become a hated and even a dangerous prison.

1. The king was handed over to the Parliament on the 30th of January 1647. Strangely enough he was executed on the very same day of the month two years later.
2. **Independents** or Congregationalists. They were opposed to all State Establishments of religion.
3. **Bestial**, like that of beasts.
4. **Paradise Lost**, the finest epic poem in our language, was not published till 1667.
5. **Ireton**, Cromwell's son-in-law.
6. **Delinquent.** See page 33.
7. Some say that the letter was written by Cromwell himself.

THE LAST STRUGGLE FOR THE KING.

CHARLES at Carisbrooke.—A horse was standing ready for the fugitive king outside the grounds of the palace, and accompanied by a few faithful friends he hastened towards the south-west. The night was so dark and stormy that they lost their way in passing through the New Forest. Misfortune now seemed to have marked Charles for her own. He found no place of safety in England; and, having reached Southampton, he resolved to take refuge in the Isle of Wight.

The governor of that island, Colonel Hammond, was nephew of one of the king's chaplains; and Charles was, accordingly, sanguine that he would be able to win him over. But Hammond, though he "turned suddenly pale" at the difficult position in which he was placed, could not be persuaded to be a traitor to the army. Charles was removed by him to Carisbrooke Castle, a fortress on the coast, where, although his friends were permitted freely to visit him, he was kept under the closest guard. He was once more a prisoner.

The news of the king's escape awakened a mutinous spirit among the 'Levellers' of the army; and at the rendezvous at Ware[1] two of the regiments displayed in

their hats the motto, "The people's freedom and the soldier's rights."

At once Cromwell galloped up to the ranks. "Take that paper from your hats," he cried to them. "Never, till justice has been done," was the defiant reply. "The man of action" was equal to the occasion. Dashing resolutely into their midst, he ordered eleven of the ringleaders to be seized and tried by court-martial on the spot. Three of the eleven were condemned to death, and of these one was chosen by lot and immediately shot.

Order and discipline were thus restored; but the soldiers firmly told the lieutenant-general that they were determined to bring the king to trial, and that no severity would turn them from their purpose. The leaders of the army were gradually coming to adopt the views of the men, and ceased to regard any compromise with the king as possible.

Charles remained at Carisbrooke for a full year. He was, in every respect, most courteously treated; and, being at a distance from his most violent enemies, his spirits revived and he endeavoured to treat as before with the various parties.

When informed of the suppression of the mutiny of the Levellers, he sought to re-open negotiations with the officers. The time had gone by for that. The stern reply was that "the army has no answer to give to the proposals of His Majesty." One cannot help feeling in reading of this doomed king's sad career how completely he forgot the counsel of our great dramatist:—

> "Hope at the prow, but prudence at the helm;
> Caution to wisely watch, and take command
> When it is timely: fools are cautious too
> When 'tis too late, and prudent when 'tis vain."

Next, Parliament approached the king with four bills, which they presented as an ultimatum. Charles, however, entered into a secret treaty with the Scots and rejected the proposals of the Houses. In indignation, Parliament passed a resolution branding as a traitor every one who either received any message from the king or made application to him.

Second Civil War. — There immediately set in a strong reaction in favour of the king, which led to a renewal of the war. The Scots had agreed to send an army of 40,000 men, under the Duke of Hamilton, to assist in restoring him to the throne; and the news from Scotland at once roused into activity all the slumbering Royalist feeling in England.

But for the presence of a strong force, London, too, would have welcomed the return of Charles with acclamation. Even as it was, the apprentices surprised the guards; and having seized a large quantity of arms, paraded the streets with cries of "God and King Charles," and for forty hours held command of the city. The fleet in the Downs,[2] from jealousy of the army, also declared for the king, and were prepared to give him active support whenever an opportunity arose. Wales was already in general revolt, while the men of Kent and Essex gathered in arms on Blackheath.[3]

Leaving Fairfax to hold London and to deal with the southern rising, Cromwell marched rapidly to the west. He had quelled the Welsh insurrection in time to defeat a force of cavaliers under Langdale, and immediately to fall upon the Scotch army at Preston before tidings reached it that he was in the field.

The battle lasted three days, the Scots slowly retreat-

ing and making a stand wherever possible, until they broke up in such utter disorder that, but for the fact that the horse of Cromwell were all 'beaten out,' scarcely one would have escaped either death or capture.

Cromwell pushed on rapidly towards Edinburgh, but before he arrived, his purpose had been accomplished by a rising of the Scottish Covenanters,[4] who established the Earl of Argyle in power. Cromwell was received with the warmest welcome, and was entertained at a

COLONEL PRIDE EXCLUDING THE MEMBERS FROM THE COMMONS.

great banquet in the Castle; but meantime events were happening in London which demanded his speedy return.

The King once more in the hands of the Army.—While the army was thus engaged in the field, the Parliament seized the opportunity of once more making proposals to the king.[5] Charles, with fatal persistence, contested every point. The army had returned vic-

torious before an agreement had been reached, and it was then too late.

It was well known what the spirit of the stern soldiery was. Even before they had set out to quell the recent risings, they had declared that settlement with the king was for ever impossible, and had resolved to call Charles to "account for the blood shed in the civil war." Their leaders now resolved to act.

A troop of horse was sent to bring Charles from Newport to the solitary fortress of Hurst Castle, on the Hampshire coast. There the unhappy monarch remained for a fortnight, confined in a room "so dark that at mid-day torches were required to light it."

Meanwhile, the army marched to London and quartered itself in Whitehall and the neighbouring suburbs. On the day after the Commons had accepted the terms of the king, Colonel Pride stationed himself at the door of the Commons with a written list of certain members' names in his hand, who as they arrived were forcibly removed to the Queen's Court. The process, afterwards known as *Pride's Purge*, was twice repeated; and in this way two hundred Presbyterians[6] who were disposed to be lenient towards the king were forcibly excluded from the deliberations of the House. There was thus left a skeleton Parliament of about fifty or sixty Independent members, known as the Rump, and all power was now in the hands of the army.

1. **Ware**, 2 miles west of Hertford.
2. **The Downs**, a large anchorage between the Kentish coast and the Goodwin Sands.
3. **Blackheath**, in Kent, near Greenwich.
4. **Covenanters**, also called *Whiggamores*, from which the term *Whig* was derived.
5. Known as the Treaty of Newport.
6. They were re-admitted in 1660.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

THE FATE OF THE KING.

THE King removed to Windsor.—In the middle of a cold December night, Charles was awakened in his cheerless cell at Hurst by a great noise in the courtyard.

"What is that?" he asked his faithful servant Herbert, who hurried in.

"It is Colonel Harrison, sire," was the reply.

The tears started into the deserted monarch's eyes. "Do not think I am afraid, Herbert," he said, "but this man is the same Harrison who threatened to assassinate me, and this would be indeed a fitting place for such a deed. Go ask if that be his purpose."

When Herbert quickly returned to tell the king he was to be conducted to Windsor, he was very joyful.

"Ah!" cried he, "that is better. They are becoming gentler and more just. I have spent many happy

days at Windsor, and when there will soon forget this dismal prison."

It seemed at first as if Charles was right. The early days of his brief stay at the noble castle formed indeed a gladsome change from dreary Hurst. He occupied his own royal apartments, was treated with the wonted ceremony paid to kings, and might well dream that the sceptre would once more be his.

This brief glimpse of sunshine was soon to be buried in the deepest gloom. On the very day of his arrival at his loved palace, a bill was passed through Parliament ordering his trial. Little more than a week afterwards, on the 1st of January 1649, it was declared high treason for any one to levy war against the Parliament of England, and a High Court of Justice was appointed to decide whether Charles had been guilty of that crime or not.

In vain, the remnant of the Peers refused to pass such an ordinance; in vain, Lord Manchester protested that as there could be no Parliament without the king, it was utterly absurd to accuse the king of having been a traitor to the Parliament. The fragment of the Commons left by Pride, supported by a now all-powerful army, determined to act alone.

At once, the treatment of the captive was changed. The canopy was plucked down from over his royal chair, and he was treated as an ordinary prisoner. He felt this contempt most bitterly, and exclaimed, "Is anything more despicable than a powerless and insulted prince?"

Trial of the King.—Events now hurried rapidly on to the fatal end. The trial began on the 20th of January, the royal victim was condemned in a week

and three days afterwards the terrible death-sentence was carried into execution.

Nothing could have been more illegal than these proceedings. Not the worst of Charles' acts was so utterly unconstitutional. No freeman can be condemned "without the lawful judgment of his peers, or according to the law of the land."[1] Now, this so-called High Court of Justice was not composed of the peers of the king, for the monarch has no peers within the realm. Neither was it according to the law, for no Court can be legally appointed without the consent of King, Lords, and Commons; while this tribunal had been named not even by the Commons alone, but by the miserable 'Rump' spared by the triumphant soldiery.

Accordingly, when the king was brought into the hall of judgment at Westminster, he rightly refused to acknowledge the *legal* authority of the court, and would not plead to the charge that he was "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the nation."

During that terrible week of trial, Charles acted with noble dignity, patience, and calmness. The people were filled with sympathy for their doomed sovereign. Day after day, tearful cries of "God save your Majesty," "God deliver you from your enemies," greeted him as he passed to and from the presence of his self-appointed judges. But these cries were met with much more determined demands from the stern soldiers; "Justice! Justice! Execution! Execution!" burst again and again upon the ears of the prisoner and judges alike.

Death of the King.—At last the dreadful sentence was pronounced. Charles Stuart had but three days to live, and these he spent in calm devotion. He saw no one but his servant Herbert, his friend and spiritual

adviser Bishop Juxon, and his children the Princess Elizabeth [2] and the young Duke of Gloucester.

Few scenes in history are more fitted to awaken pity than the sad parting with these little ones upon the last day of his life upon earth. The Princess, a girl of twelve years, burst into tears at the sight of her loved father; and along with her, his little son 'lifted up his voice and wept.' Charles sent a loving message to his wife, telling her he would love her to the last sad moment of his life as on the first glad day; to his elder

WHITEHALL.

sons, he sent word that he heartily forgave his enemies and wished them no evil. Then he kissed his children, and bade them a long farewell.

On the morrow, he calmly prepared to change his "corruptible for an incorruptible crown." The scaffold was erected outside the banqueting house of Whitehall,[3] where the kings of England had been accustomed to show themselves to the people after their coronation.

The immense crowd which thronged the streets and occupied the roofs of the houses and other points of

vantage, heard nothing of the speech in which Charles declared that he came there for refusing to allow all things to be changed by the sword, and died as the martyr of the liberties of the people. They witnessed in awed silence the calm dignity with which he met his fate, and at the fall of the fatal axe their pent-up feelings found vent in a low and painful murmur of sympathy and grief.

For seven days the body was exposed at Whitehall, and it is said that Cromwell himself gazed upon the face of the dead. A few faithful followers of the departed prince were then allowed to bear his remains to St. George's Chapel,[4] Windsor, but were forbidden to perform the rites of the English Church, of which the king had to the last declared himself a member.

As the little cortege crossed the court-yard, snow fell heavily and covered with its white mantle the gloomy funeral pall. The mourning friends recalled how the dead monarch had been crowned in a white robe,[5] as now he was buried. *That* they had regarded as an omen of his misfortunes, *this* they hailed as a sign of the innocence of one whom they ever afterwards called 'the martyr king.'

1. This is one of the leading principles of Magna Charta.
2. **Elizabeth** died in captivity at Carisbrooke.
3. The banqueting house is the only part of the palace of Whitehall now remaining.
4. Here Henry VIII. was also buried.
5. From this Charles was often called the "White King."

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649–1653.

THE New Form of Government. — The execution of Charles was the work of but a fraction of the nation. The *Royalists*[1] throughout England, although defeated and disappointed, were still numerous, and looked with mingled feelings of horror and hatred upon the cruel deed. The *Presbyterians*,[2] at that time probably a majority of the nation, had fought to preserve their religion, not to overthrow the throne, far less to take the life of their king; they regarded what had been done with the utmost aversion. These two sections numbered fully three-fourths of the people.

There remained to approve of the deed only the *Independents*[3]—comparatively few in numbers, but enthusiastic, determined, and confident in the justice of their cause and in the skill of their leaders. This last party was supported by the army—then the most formidable and best disciplined force in Europe.[4]

Immediately after the seven-days' exposure of the body of the late king (ere his grave had yet received its dead), the members,[5] left after the repeated 'purgations' of what had once been the House of Commons, abolished the 'office of king' as "in this country useless and dangerous to the liberty, security, and good of the people." They also appointed an executive Council of forty-one members, who were for one year to preserve quiet at home, make war or peace abroad, and control commerce.

Of this Council, Bradshaw, who had been leader of the tribunal which condemned Charles, was made President; but Cromwell was the actual head of the executive, and his power increased day by day.

This form of government was called the 'Commonwealth;' but it had in no way been sanctioned by the voice of the people, and a free appeal to the country would at once have led to its rejection. It had been in fact created by the mere remnant of a House of Commons elected nine years before, and was really the rule of a hundred men supported by a victorious army. Such a system is most correctly termed an *Oligarchy*,[6] or government by the few.

How the Commonwealth was received in England.—The new government was threatened, both at home and abroad, by the most overwhelming dangers. The people looked upon it with dislike. For four months, the Council shrank from proclaiming the 'Commonwealth' in London; and when they did so, the aldermen showed their dislike by remaining absent. "What was being done was opposed to my conscience and contrary to my oath," boldly answered one of them when questioned; "My heart was not in this work," replied another.

There appeared many other indications of the popular feeling.

When the forty-one newly appointed Councillors were required to sign a declaration approving of the execution of the King and the abolition of the royal office, twenty-two refused. They agreed to serve the Commonwealth faithfully as the only existing form of government, but firmly declined to give their sanction to the past.

The same spirit was shown when the Council thought to check the spread of the royalist feeling by bringing to trial the captive leaders whom they had in their power. The Duke of Hamilton, Lord Holland and Lord Capel were condemned and brought to the block. But the execution of these noblemen—especially of the

last named, a virtuous and able man—called forth such expressions of sorrow and sympathy, that the Council thought it wise to adopt other methods of dealing with their prisoners.

One more incident may be mentioned. There appeared a book called 'The Royal Image,'[7] giving, as it were, a portrait of the late king. It was supposed to be written by Charles himself,[8] and presented a vivid picture of his inner life—his mingled pride and piety, and his devotion to his religion, his honour, and his divine right as king. Thousands of copies were sold,[9] and the book caused a complete change of feeling in many who had formerly opposed the royal claims.

In a word, had it not been for the army, the Oligarchy would not have lasted a day. And now danger threatened the government from this its chief support. There were still among the soldiers a large number of the enthusiasts called 'Levellers.'[10] These men had looked for a true republic, where every man should have a voice in the government, and all should be equal; but they now found that they had merely changed a weak master for a very strong one. Their leader was an eloquent and fearless man, Colonel Lilburne or 'Free born John,'[11] as he was familiarly called.

"I would rather," he said, "live seven years under the government of the old King Charles, although they have cut off his head as a tyrant, than one year under the present tyranny."

When this fiery agitator was committed to the Tower, insurrection broke out in several regiments; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that Fairfax and Cromwell crushed out the mutiny. The danger had been extreme; and to make matters still worse for the

government, Lilburne was acquitted amidst the joyous cheers of the people—so loud "that no voice could be heard in the Hall for more than half an hour."

The Oligarchy became more and more unpopular;

MUTINY OF THE LEVELLERS.

and, as their star sank, that of Cromwell rose. Men had begun to look to him as the means of escape from the 'tyranny of the few,' and events soon happened which increased his fame and made his influence still greater.

1. Chiefly Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.
2. See note 6, page 12.
3. See note 2, page 54.
4. Fairfax was the General-in-Chief, but Cromwell, the second in command, had really more power.
5. Contemptuously called the *Rump* (see page 59), now increased to about 100 individuals.
6. **Oligarchy**, a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in a few individuals.
7. The title was in Greek, *Eikon Basilikon, i.e.*, the Royal Image.
8. It was really written by Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Worcester. The book, it is said, was finally revised and corrected by Charles in his captivity.
9. As many as 48,000 copies were sold in one year.
10. **Levellers**, see page 55.
11. **Lilburne** wrote many pamphlets. The chief one was "The New Chains of England Discovered."

THE LAST OF THE OLD CAVALIERS.

MONTROSE.

THE Great Marquis.—When the Scots had handed over Charles I. to the English Parliament, they had expressly stipulated for his personal safety. Accordingly, when the news of his execution reached Edinburgh, they denounced the act as a breach of faith and immediately proclaimed Charles II. as king.

Some of the people of Scotland were enthusiastically royalist, and would at once have welcomed Charles with open arms. Of this party, the leader was the brilliant and noble *Marquis of Montrose*, the most chivalrous of Charles' supporters. But the majority of the Scots were Presbyterians and Covenanters, less anxious for the success of the Stuart cause than for the triumph of the doctrines of the Covenant. The head of this party, and the rival of Montrose, was the Earl of Argyle.

The Scottish Parliament accordingly began to treat with the young king; they would not, however, receive him except on condition of his signing the Covenant, and promising to rule by the aid of Parliament and the General Assembly of the Kirk.[1] All this was intensely distasteful to Charles; and he held back, while one more effort was being made for him by the daring leader

of the Scottish royalists, who had determined to take the matter into his own hands, and—

> "To put it to the touch,
> To gain or lose it all." [2]

While he was collecting troops in the northern countries of Europe he received an urgent letter [3] from Charles, saying, "I entreat you to go on vigorously with your wonted courage and care. . . . I assure you, I am upon the same principles as I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertakings and endeavours for my service."

Misfortune from the outset attended the enterprise. The first division of the expedition was wrecked; and when the leader landed in the Orkneys, he found only 500 foreign troops—chiefly Germans. His march southwards —with a banner bearing the head of Charles I. and the motto, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord"—was full of bitter disappointment. None of the chiefs who had promised to join him did so. The memory of their former hardships and defeat [4] was too recent for the Highlanders to court a repetition of them. At last his small force was surprised by the cavalry of Leslie [5] on the borders of Ross-shire, and most of them taken prisoners. Montrose himself, after wandering for some time in the guise of a peasant, was betrayed to the Covenanters, sentenced to death, and, after enduring the vilest contumely and insult, was executed as a public enemy at the Cross of Edinburgh.

He bore his fate with heroic dignity and calmness; it is said that the hostile crowd was awed into silence by his lofty sadness, and that the very executioner wept as he placed the rope round his neck. The following

verses[6] by Professor Aytoun,[7] give a very vivid account of "how the great Marquis fell":—

They brought him to the water-gate,
Hard bound with hempen span,[8]
As though they held a lion there,
And not a fenceless[9] man.
They set him high upon a cart—
The hangmen rode below;
They drew his hands behind his back,
And bared his noble brow;
Then as a hound is slipped from leash,
They cheered—the common throng—
And blew the note with yell and shout,
And bade him pass along.

But when he came, though pale and wan,
He looked so great and high—
So noble was his manly front,
So calm his steadfast eye,
The rabble rout[10] forbore to shout,
And each man held his breath;
For well they knew the hero's soul
Was face to face with death.
And then a mournful shudder
Through all the people crept,
And some that came to scoff at him
Now turned aside and wept.

. . . . . .

The morning dawned full darkly,
The rain came flashing down,
And the jagged streak of the levin-bolt[11]
Lit up the gloomy town!
The thunder crashed across the heaven—
The fatal hour was come!

Yet aye broke in with muffled beat
The 'larum of the drum.
There was madness on the earth below,
And anger in the sky;
And young and old, and rich and poor,
Came forth to see him die.

"He is coming! he is coming!"
Like a bridegroom from his room,
Came the hero from his prison
To the scaffold and the doom.
There was glory on his forehead,
There was lustre in his eye,
And he never walked to battle
More proudly than to die.
There was colour in his visage,
Though the cheeks of all were wan;
And they marvelled as they saw him pass,
That great and goodly man.

He mounted up the scaffold,
And he turned him to the crowd;
But they dare not trust the people,
So he might not speak aloud.
But he looked upon the heavens,
And they were clear and blue,
And in the liquid ether
The eye of God shone through.
Yet a black and murky battlement
Lay resting on the hill,[12]
As though the thunder slept within—
All else was calm and still.

A beam of light fell on him,
Like a glory round the shriven!
And he climbed the lofty ladder
As it were the path to heaven.

Then came a flash from out the cloud,
And a stunning thunder-roll;
And no man dared to look aloft,
For fear was on every soul.
There was another heavy sound,
A hush and then a groan,
And darkness swept across the sky—
The work of death was done.

1. **Kirk**, Scotch form of "Church," here means the Established Church of Scotland.
2. From the Marquis' own song, "I'll never love thee more."
3. Dated 19th September 1649.
4. **Montrose** had led a brilliant enterprise in 1644 and 1645. After many victories he was defeated at *Philiphaugh*, near Selkirk. See page 48.
5. Under Colonel Strachan, April 27th, 1650.
6. From "The Execution of Montrose."
7. **Aytoun** was Professor of English Literature in the University of Edinburgh.
8. **Span**, a rope, literally anything *spun*.
9. **Fenceless**, *i.e.*, defenceless.
10. **Rout**, disorderly crowd.
11. **Levin-bolt**, lightning-bolt, thunder-bolt.
12. The Castle of Edinburgh.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

CROMWELL in Ireland.—It was in Ireland, however, that affairs wore the most threatening aspect. After the execution of Charles, the Catholics had united with the Royalists; and under the Marquis of Ormond, an army had been raised on behalf of Charles II., who was proclaimed King. This force acted with such vigour, that soon, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, the royal standard floated over every town and stronghold of the land.

Dublin was next surrounded, but the royal army was completely defeated in a sortie of the garrison,[1] and forced to raise the siege. It is said that, when Charles heard in Holland of this defeat, he was eager to hurry over to fight by the side of his friends.

"'Twere better to perish there with them," he said, "than to live here in dishonourable ease while others die for me."

This noble sentiment went no further than *words ;* he lived where he was, and his faithful adherents, alas! were left to die alone.[2]

It was at this crisis that Cromwell arrived.[3] He brought with him the flower of the English army—a reinforcement bringing up the total number of Parliamentary troops in the island to 10,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. He at once restored strict discipline throughout the force, and set himself to carry on the war with relentless severity. The royal troops were distributed in the strongest fortresses of the country, and Cromwell's plan was to give the garrisons the choice of immediate surrender or 'the extreme severity of a storm.'[4]

He first marched northward from Dublin to Drogheda, which was held by 3000 troops—chiefly Englishmen, and all trained soldiers. It was taken by storm after a desperate defence ; and the defenders were, by the express command of Cromwell, put to the sword.

Some Irish historians declare that not only the garrison, but all the inhabitants of the town, regardless of sex or age, were indiscriminately slaughtered. Although of this there is no proof worthy of the name, the Irish people retain such a recollection of the severity of this and other acts that one of their bitterest maledictions is, "The curse of Cromwell on you."

Cromwell seems to have thought that by acting thus ruthlessly in the beginning of the war, he could so terrify his opponents that they would in subsequent encounters yield readily and without much further bloodshed. His own words were : "The enemy upon this were filled with much terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will *save much effusion of blood*, through the goodness of God."

The East and South of Ireland were soon subdued. At Wexford, a stubborn struggle took place, and a slaughter of 2000 of the garrison followed. Cork, Kinsale, and other towns surrendered without resistance.

Meanwhile the severity of the Independent army towards members of the Roman Catholic faith filled the Irish with intense bitterness, so that they prolonged the contest with a tenacity which for a time baffled Cromwell's utmost efforts. It took ten months before the most important strongholds were captured, and the work was still incomplete[5] when the victor was recalled to England by events which threatened the very existence of the Republic.

Cromwell in Scotland.—Although Charles had, as you have read, urged Montrose on to his enterprise, he now most basely and selfishly disavowed his noble champion, declared that he had forbidden the attempt, and accepted the conditions of the Scottish Parliament.[6] He then left Holland and came to Scotland, but he was not allowed to land until he had signed the Covenant. The Scots at once set themselves in earnest to raise a covenanting army, the command of which was given to David Leslie.[7]

The Commonwealth of England now determined to send a force against these supporters of the king. The command was offered to Fairfax, but he refused to interfere with the right of the Scots to choose their own sovereign. Cromwell was then appointed commander-in-chief, and thus openly occupied the position of supremacy which he had long held in reality.

Within one month of the landing of Charles, an invading force of 10,000 splendid troops passed through Berwick.[8] In obedience to orders from head-quarters,

and terrified by the fearful accounts of Cromwell's severity in Ireland, the inhabitants had deserted the whole district through which the English army had to pass; and, before going, they had destroyed everything they could not carry with them.

Cromwell was thus forced to keep close to the coast so as to draw supplies from his fleet. In this way he

VIEW OF OLD EDINBURGH.

advanced as far as Edinburgh, which was most skilfully defended by Leslie. But want of provisions and illness among his troops at last forced him to retreat. As he retired, he was pursued by the Scots; and, at *Dunbar*,[9] his army would have been destroyed or forced to take refuge with the fleet, had not the rash advance of the enemy at the last moment enabled him to win a great victory.[10]

From Dunbar the victor advanced upon Edinburgh. As Leslie withdrew to Stirling with the remains of his army, the city was undefended; but the castle held out for three months. In order to cut off the supplies of the army at Stirling, Cromwell crossed into Fife, which he subdued, and then advanced as far west as Perth.

Meanwhile the young king was crowned at Scone,[11] in the first month of the new year.[12] Presbyterians and Royalists united in his defence, and he was put in actual command of the army. Seeing no force between himself and England, Charles resolved to march boldly southwards. To all Leslie's arguments he turned a deaf ear, and assured the Scots that the whole body of English Royalists only awaited his presence to rise against their hated oppressors.

1. 3d August 1649.
2. It was afterwards said of Charles that he never *said* a foolish thing, and never *did* a wise one.
3. 15th August 1649.
4. This phrase often meant "death with the sword to all found with arms in their hands."
5. The reduction of Ireland was completed by Ireton, Fleetwood, and Ludlow.
6. This is sometimes called the *Treaty of Breda*, from the town in Holland where it was signed.
7. There was also present the aged Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven. David Leslie had served in the Thirty Years' War under the famous Gustavus Adolphus.
8. All English armies invading Scotland invariably passed through either Carlisle or Berwick.
9. **Dunbar**, in Haddingtonshire, 28 miles east of Edinburgh.
10. September 3, 1650. The battle of Worcester was fought on the same day of the same month exactly a year later. Cromwell died on the third of September also.
11. **Scone**, the crowning-place of the Scottish kings. The old coronation stone was removed by Edward I. It is now under the coronation chair at Westminster.
12. January 1651.

CROMWELL AND THE YOUNGER CHARLES.

'THE Crowning Mercy.'—When Charles had crossed the border at Carlisle, a herald proclaimed him King of England. The Royalists did not join him as he had expected, kept back perhaps by dislike of his Presbyterian army. His advance was almost unopposed; but the country was closely watched by detachments of the troops of the Commonwealth, and a small reinforcement which was marching to join him from the Isle of Man, under the Earl of Derby, was cut to pieces near Wigan.

When Cromwell heard of this movement, he set out in pursuit, leaving the affairs of Scotland in the hands of General Monk. Before going he wrote an encouraging letter to Parliament, telling them not to be alarmed, but to do their utmost to check the advance of the invaders until he was able to reach up to them. He added these significant words, '*This will be a hopeful end of your work.*'

Cromwell, with the main body of his troops, came up with the Royalists at *Worcester*, where Charles had strongly entrenched himself. The city was attacked on both sides; and, after a desperate contest of four or five hours' duration, the Scots, with the exception of a few of their cavalry, were all either killed or taken prisoners.

Cromwell might well exult in such a victory. It was indeed the 'crowning mercy of the war.' Ireland was subdued, Monk had firm hold of Scotland, and now the last force of the enemy in England was completely crushed. A battle which he himself said was as stiff a contest as ever he had seen, had ended in the 'total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army.'

The Fugitive King.—The adventures of Charles, after Worcester, read like a page from some old romance. A price was laid upon his head as 'Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant.' For six weeks he sought in vain for an opportunity of escaping from the country,

CHARLES'S ESCAPE FROM WORCESTER

wandering through the west and south of England like one of Spenser's [1] errant knights—

"High over hills and over dales he fled,
As if the winds him on their wings had borne;
Ne [2] bank nor bush could stay him, when he sped [3]
His nimble feet as treading still on thorn." [4]

For a time he was guarded by the fidelity of a family of woodcutters called Penderell, who lived near Boscobel [5] woods. With cropped hair and dress like that of his peasant protectors, the fugitive accompanied them to their daily toil. The pursuers were close on his track, and dangers thickened round him. At one time we find him lying under a tree covered with a single blanket, while the rain poured in such torrents that his enemies did not care to continue their search. At another we may hide with the hunted king in that giant oak—

"Wherein the younger Charles abode
Till all the paths were dim;
And far below the Roundhead rode,
And humm'd a surly hymn." [6]

We can trace the flight of Charles from Worcester to Shropshire and Staffordshire, and thence towards Wales. We next find him, once more hurried on like a storm-driven ship among the breakers, vainly endeavouring to escape from Bristol, and then almost driven to despair by the close watch kept up on the coast of Dorset. His last hiding place was in Wiltshire, and his weary flight came to an end when he sailed from Shoreham [7] on the 15th of October—forty-two days after his defeat at Worcester.

The ship was only a collier,[8] and the captain had been told that his passenger was to be a merchant, but he recognised the king.

"Gentlemen!" he said, "you have not dealt fairly with me; for he is the king; I know him very well; and by the grace of God, I will venture my life and all for him." Well did the noble skipper keep his word,

for the next day he set the exile safely on the shores of France, at the little port of Fécamp in Normandy.

The most touching thing about this flight, as in that of Prince Charles Edward nearly a century later, is the fidelity and generous kindness of humble peasants and rough sailors to a fallen and hopeless man. Such acts are the golden grains in the sands of history; such hearts, 'the noblest work of God.'

There were still in the hands of the Parliament the two children whom we last saw parting from their father on the day before his death. The Princess Elizabeth was confined in Carisbrooke. Like a flower shut out from light and air, she gradually drooped in her captivity. The sad scenes of the past had crushed the life from her young heart; and at last, rather ceasing to live than actually dying, she quietly fell asleep. She was found dead—a tear trembling on the pale cheek which rested on her Bible, and a sweet expression of celestial calm already effacing the traces of her past sorrow and care.

The Parliament, ashamed of this melancholy ending to a young and beautiful life, and dreading lest another such stain should rest upon their fame, shortly afterwards sent off the young Henry of Gloucester to the care of his mother in France.

1. Fairy Queen.
2. **Ne**, neither.
3. **Sped**, here transitive, signifying to move quickly.
4. *I.e.*, always on thorns.
5. **Boscobel**, about 20 miles west of Shrewsbury.
6. From Tennyson's "Talking Oak."
7. **Shoreham**, near Brighton, in Sussex.
8. **Collier**, a coal-vessel.

CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

How the Commonwealth fared abroad. — The Commonwealth had now overcome its chief difficulties *at home*, but it was still threatened by serious perils *abroad*. The death of Charles had awakened the deepest horror and indignation throughout the courts of Europe; and, although kings and statesmen were withheld by policy from active interference, the peoples proclaimed aloud their abhorrence of the act.

Their jealousy of each other alone prevented *France* and *Spain* from declaring war against England. The former country withdrew its ambassador;[1] and while the populace clamoured for a war in support of the exiled royal family,[2] the French ministry[3] expressed the greatest sympathy with the younger Charles. In Spain, when the English envoy Asham was assassinated at Madrid, the criminals were allowed to escape and public feeling was on the side of the murderers. One European monarch went even further. Alexis of *Russia*, the father of Peter the Great, refused to have any dealings with the blood-stained oligarchy, and drove all English merchants out of his empire.

These, and all such attacks, the government of England treated with cold indifference. Having full confidence in their strength, they waited with calm pride until success at home and abroad would compel the haughtiest of their enemies to be wary in provoking their wrath.

The action of *Holland*, however, touched the rulers of England more deeply than that of the other nations. The leaders of the Commonwealth had looked to that

country for support, for the form of government there was Republican. In spite of this, the Dutch recognised Charles II., and gave a warm welcome to all Royalist refugees; the representative of the Parliament at the Hague [4] was murdered with impunity by some exiled cavaliers, and the envoys of England were ill-treated by the populace.[5]

This was not all; for Prince Rupert was allowed to make the ports of Holland the arsenals from which to wage a freebooting warfare against the Commonwealth.[6] Privateers from all the maritime countries of Europe joined the prince to share in the plunder.

The English government acted with decision and promptitude, as well as with wisdom and caution. Without declaring war against their unfriendly neighbours, they fitted out a strong fleet, and placed it under the command of a notable seaman, Robert Blake. This famous admiral soon cleared the seas of the piratical marauders, drove Rupert from Holland to Portugal, forced that power to expel the fugitive from the Tagus, and pursued him to the coast of Africa.

The Commonwealth made one final effort to win over Holland to a union. The proposals were refused, and their envoys [7] were insulted. Then it was that St. John, the 'dark-lantern man,' formed a plan for punishing the hostile Dutch; and departed from the Hague, saying, 'Believe me, you will repent having refused our offers.'

His vow was well kept, for almost immediately [8] there was passed by Parliament a Navigation Act [9] which struck a deadly blow at Dutch trade. At this time great part of the wealth of Holland was derived from carrying in its ships goods from one country to another. This Act declared that no merchandise could

be brought to British dominions from any country in Europe, except in British ships or in those belonging to the nation producing the goods; and that no goods could be imported from Asia, Africa, or America, except in vessels belonging to British subjects and having their captains and the majority of their crews English.

Thus, while Cromwell was busy in Ireland and Scotland, the Commonwealth had, upon the seas, made its power feared by its foes and respected by its rivals.

Cromwell urges a Settlement of the Government. — It had been all along understood that the existing form of government was only temporary. On the one hand, the Rump Parliament [10] had no right to act in the name of the nation; and, on the other hand, the army leaders could not seize the power without causing deep discontent. If Royalist plots were, however, to be held in check, it was absolutely necessary that some strong government should be appointed, which all should recognise as responsible for order.

Accordingly, not long after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell declared that he now held it necessary *to come to a settlement of the nation.*[11]

The Rump was very reluctant to resign its dignities. But it contained few men of ability; and having no means to withstand the popular general, was forced to pass a Bill [12] for its own dissolution—on condition, however, that it should not take place for three years.

The Dutch War.—Holland, as has been said, had openly favoured Charles II.; but the actual cause of war was the Act described above, forbidding the use of Dutch vessels in the transport of English goods.

Blake, the admiral of England, began the contest by

inflicting a serious defeat on Tromp at *Dover*, and this was followed up by several other victories; but the Dutch, put on their mettle by these disasters, appeared *off the Naze* with eighty ships under Tromp, against the forty which Blake had been able to muster. After a stubborn battle, Blake had to take refuge in the Thames. Tromp did not attempt to follow him; but sailed down the Channel with a broom at his masthead, boasting that he had swept the English ships from the seas.[13]

In a few months Blake, with a much larger force, again put to sea; and after severely defeating Tromp *off Portland*, pursued him to the French coast.

The last and most decisive battle took place on the Dutch coast *off the Texel*.[14] The most stubborn valour was displayed on both sides; but, at last, the brave Tromp was killed, and the Dutch defeated with immense loss.

The war ended in 1654. The Dutch recognised the English flag as supreme, submitted to the Navigation Act, promised to compensate for injuries done during the war and no longer to shelter the foes of the Commonwealth.

Fall of the Oligarchy.—Their brilliant naval success inspired the Rump with sufficient confidence to defy the wishes of the army. They declared that they would not only retain their seats in the new Parliament, but should decide the validity of every new election.

Cromwell, on hearing this, was deeply incensed. He saw clearly what he thought to be his duty, and nothing could keep him from doing it. Giving orders that a company of musketeers of his own regiment should be sent to the door of the House of Commons, he entered and sat down in his usual place.

He listened patiently to the debate until the Bill was about to pass; and then began to speak. While giving credit to the Parliament for their former "care of the public good," he sternly blamed them for their selfish

"GIVE PLACE TO BETTER MEN."

ambition, and the scandalous lives of many of them; and finally exclaimed, "It is not fit you should sit here any longer; you shall give place to better men."

Addressing one of his officers, he said, "Call them in," upon which thirty musketeers made their appearance in the midst of the astonished members. "It is you that have moved me to this," he cried in sorrowful tones, as the members moved sullenly to the door. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he added contemptuously, taking up the mace. "Here, take it away," he said, handing it to a musketeer.

Carrying with him the Bill which the Parliament had been about to make law, Cromwell gave orders to lock the door of the House.[15] This dismissal of the Rump seemed to meet with general approval, for it had completely lost the confidence of the nation, and its scheme to preserve a further lease of power had awakened general alarm.

Cromwell, by thus taking the law into his own hands, was really acting *in defence of the liberties of the Commons.*

1. **Withdrew its ambassador.** This is the usual preliminary to a declaration of war.
2. **Exiled Royal Family.** Henrietta Maria, the queen of Charles I., had been a French princess (see page 22), and had taken refuge in France.
3. **French Ministry.** This was the time of Cardinal Mazarin, who had succeeded the great Richelieu. He maintained a strict neutrality between the exiled king and the Commonwealth.
4. **The Hague,** on the coast of Holland, the seat of government and political capital of the country.
5. One reason of the favour shown by Holland to the Royalists was that Mary, daughter of Charles I., had been married to William, Prince of Orange. Their son became William III. of England.
6. The laws of naval warfare were not yet clearly fixed, and many of the acts even of our own famous admirals would now be regarded as piracy.
7. **Envoy,** a special *messenger*, one *sent* to transact business with a foreign government.
8. The envoys quitted the Hague on the 1st of July 1651, and the Navigation Bill was introduced in Parliament on the 5th of August.
9. **Navigation Act.** Several similar Acts were afterwards passed. The first relaxation was in favour of the United States, and most of the restrictions were repealed in 1849. Foreign ships were even admitted to the coasting trade in 1854.
10. **The Rump Parliament.** See page 59.
11. See Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. ii. p. 94.
12. Passed on the 18th of November 1651.
13. These battles were fought in 1652.
14. **Texel,** the large island nearest the mainland at the mouth of the Zuyder Zee. The battle was fought in July 1653.
15. The Rump was expelled on the 20th April 1653.

CROMWELL, LORD PROTECTOR.
1653–1658.

CROMWELL.

THE Lord-General.—Cromwell had at last seized the helm of the State. Many different views have been taken of the character of this great man, some of them very hostile. His opponents regarded him as a conscious hypocrite hiding under the cloak of religion ambition of the most selfish kind, as the main cause of the execution of King Charles, and as guilty of all the bloodshed of the past reign. This view was altogether unjust. Whatever may be thought of the means he took to carry out his aims, there can be no doubt that he was animated by intense religious conviction like that of the prophets of old, and felt himself appointed by God to rescue his country from slavery on the one hand and from miserable anarchy on the other.

This man had ever been of independent spirit. He had always thrust himself between the oppressor and the oppressed, so that in his native Huntingdon he had long before this been known as the 'Lord of the Fens.' The days of his earlier manhood had been spent in much communing with his cousin Hampden;[1] and during the bitter rule of 'Thorough,' they had determined to seek a freer home across the broad

Atlantic.[2] God ordered their fates differently; for the vessel in which they were to sail was stopped by a proclamation of the king, and they remained—the one to die fighting for freedom on the battlefield,[3] the other to become the uncrowned king of a great empire.

Cromwell's First Parliament.—Cromwell had no wish to rule alone, and at once summoned one hundred and forty persons, chosen for their fidelity and honour, to administer the affairs of the kingdom. This convention, known as the Little or Barebones Parliament,[4] was not at all successful.

At first, it set itself with great energy to the work of reform; but, the extreme party gaining the chief power, it soon began the destruction of the whole system of English law and church government. Indeed, the schemes of the majority so alarmed the more cautious members, that they hurriedly passed a vote delivering up their powers to the Lord-General.[5]

Thus the affairs of the kingdom were again placed under the control of Cromwell and the council of officers. They at once drew up an **Instrument of Government,** *vesting the power in a Lord Protector, a Council of State nominated by him, and a Parliament elected by the people.*

The Lord Protector chosen was of course the Lord-General Cromwell. He was to possess supreme executive power; but Parliament alone had a right to impose taxes, and could frame laws without his sanction. It was also provided that the Parliament should meet every three years, that it could not be dissolved on any pretext until it had sat at least five months, and that Scotland and Ireland were to be represented as well as England.[6] This was a sincere and noble attempt to restore constitutional liberty; but the Puritan party was so small that

it could not remain in power if the votes of the nation were to decide the question. Thus the Instrument of Government necessarily failed. As soon as the Parliament met,[7] a dispute regarding its powers commenced; and Cromwell, after allowing it to sit for five months,[8] was forced reluctantly to dissolve it.

A Military Despotism Established.—Anarchy now threatened the country, and military despotism of the strictest kind was accordingly established. England was divided into ten military districts, each of which was placed under a major-general responsible to the Protector; and, in lieu of taxes imposed by Parliament, a rate was levied on all who had borne arms for the king.

The lofty motives which actuated Cromwell were seen in the character of his administration. Never before had the essentials of liberty in England been so fully enjoyed. Toleration was permitted to all forms of Christianity, and the Church of England was declared to include all who held the principles of the faith.

Cromwell was, however, very severe on many old customs and habits. No inns except those necessary for travellers were permitted, while drunkenness and profane swearing were made capital offences. The bears kept for the amusement of the London citizens were slain by a Puritan colonel and his regiment.

Not only were those sports which implied a certain degree of cruelty forbidden, but equally with them were horse-racing, theatrical entertainments, farces, and even all kinds of music not solemn and sacred. The Maypoles were removed from the village greens, and games and dances were discouraged as dangerous to good morals.

Cromwell and Europe.—In defence of the religious liberty of English merchants and sailors, Cromwell pro-

claimed war against Spain.[9] The command of the fleet was entrusted to the illustrious Blake.

The greatest feat of the war was the work of the gallant admiral himself. By an act of daring almost unexampled in the annals of naval warfare, he captured a fleet of Spanish ships in the bay of Santa Cruz [10] under the muzzles of the guns of several powerfully armed forts. "The whole action was so incredible that all men who knew the place wondered that any sober man, with what courage soever endowed, would ever have undertaken it; and they would hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; while the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they were devils and not men who had destroyed them in such a manner." [11]

England now once more occupied the proud position she had held in the days of the Great Elizabeth, for Cromwell had made peace with Holland and become the recognised champion of the Protestant cause. France sought the powerful assistance of the Puritan soldier, and concluded an alliance with him against Spain.

Six thousand of Cromwell's veterans were sent to co-operate with twenty-six thousand French soldiers in overthrowing the Spanish power in the Netherlands. The ardour of the English for battle excited the wonder of the French; and, as the result of the campaign, Dunkirk [12] was delivered over to England.

There were several other naval expeditions in which Cromwell upheld the honour of the English flag. The Duke of Tuscany had allowed Rupert to sell at Leghorn some English vessels which he had taken. Blake sailed thither with his fleet, and forced the Duke to pay £60,000 indemnity. English commerce had also suffered much from the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, and

Tripoli. The thunder of British guns forced these maurauders to afford ample satisfaction and to give guarantees for their future good conduct.

It is due to Cromwell that England acquired that foreign prestige which she maintains to the present day.

Renewed Attempt at Parliamentary Government.—Cromwell now saw that the only chance of success was by establishing a government as nearly as possible resembling that of King, Lords, and Commons.

Accordingly, he formed a new House of Lords; and the Commons begged him to assume the royal title. The army, however, petitioned against the proposal "in the name of the old cause for which they had bled," and Cromwell felt that an undertaking could not prosper "which would justly and with cause grieve them."

Although he did not accept the title of King, he enjoyed all the honours of royalty. He was to fill the office of Protector for life, and to appoint his successor. The solemn inauguration of the Protector took place in Westminster Hall. The Speaker assisted him to put on a robe of state, purple lined with ermine, presented him with a Bible richly gilt and bound, girded him with a sword, and placed in his hands a sceptre of massive gold. Then the people gave several great shouts, "the trumpets sounded, and the Protector sat in his chair of state, holding the sceptre in his hand."

All ended in failure. When the members excluded during the previous session were re-admitted, the House of Commons refused to acknowledge the new House of Lords; and it was rumoured that they intended to question the authority of the Protector himself. Hearing of this, Cromwell summoned the Commons to the House of Lords, and in a speech of calm rebuke, commanded

them to dissolve—adding, "Let God be judge betwixt you and me." He undoubtedly spoke from the heart when he said, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, than to have undertaken such a government." [13]

Death of Cromwell.—It is in his untiring efforts to establish a constitution that the incorruptible honesty of Cromwell, his sincere humility, and his dauntless resolution are most strikingly shown. He was one of those men whose character is superior to all the ups and downs of fortune, who remain the same in heart and purpose whether they be rewarded with obloquy [14] or honour, with failure or success.

> "His grandeur he derived from heaven alone,
> For he was great ere fortune made him so;
> And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
> Made him but *greater seem*, not greater grow."

The cares and perplexities of the last twenty years had completely undermined Cromwell's strength, and the loss of a favourite daughter gave a shock to his system which brought on a mortal illness; and in his 59th year, on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, the great Protector quietly breathed his last.[15]

1. **His Cousin Hampden.** See p. 29. The father of Oliver Cromwell and the mother of John Hampden were brother and sister.
2. This is said to have taken place about the year 1637-38.
3. Hampden was killed in the battle of Chalgrove Field. See p. 42.
4. **Barebones Parliament** met in 1653. So called from the name of one of its prominent members—a leather-merchant called Praise-God Barebone or Barebones.
5. This took place on the 16th of December 1653.
6. In this, the Instrument of Government anticipated the Acts of Union between the Parliaments of Scotland (1707) and Ireland (1800) with that of England.
7. Cromwell's *Second* Parliament met on September 3rd, 1654; it was dissolved on January 22nd, 1655.
8. **Five Months,** *i.e.*, in accordance with the Instrument of Government. Cromwell declared that the 'five months' meant 'five *lunar* months' of four weeks each.
9. War was proclaimed against Spain in 1656. Hostilities had commenced and Jamaica been captured in 1655.
10. **Santa Cruz,** in the island of Teneriffe, one of the Canary Islands.
11. From Clarendon's 'History of the Great Rebellion.'
12. **Dunkirk,** captured in 1658. It was afterwards sold to France by Charles II.
13. Cromwell's last parliament was dissolved on February 4th, 1658.
14. **Obloquy,** a *speaking against* any one, calumny.
15. Cromwell died on September 3rd, 1658.

THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

RICHARD CROMWELL.—To an inquiry made on his deathbed, Cromwell stated that, a year before, he had, at Hampton Court, drawn up a paper naming his successor. This paper was never found, but he was said to have mentioned his eldest son Richard.[1] The Council supported the son of their great leader, and he was at once proclaimed Protector. His accession was received peaceably by the nation, for the awe of his father's name still remained, the Royalists were unprepared for action, and all opposition was hopeless so long as the army supported the new ruler.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

Richard, however, had no sympathy with Puritan feeling; he had taken no earnest part in political life, and he was not even an officer in the army upon whose fidelity his whole power rested. Accordingly, in disregard of the bitter failure of his father, he issued writs for a freely elected Parliament. When it met, not more than half the members assembled to hear the speech from the throne;[2] and though at last they agreed by a majority to recognise Richard as Protector, they claimed the sole right of appointing officers in the army.

The army, Richard had already mortally offended.

Civilian though he was, he had taken for granted that in becoming Lord Protector he had become Lord-General. But the army was determined that no one but a soldier should be their leader, and that they should be controlled neither by Protector nor Parliament.

Richard, thereupon, ordered the council of officers to dissolve, upon which they told him that he must choose between them and the Commons. The Protector, thus forced by the army, dismissed the Parliament, and shortly afterwards quietly retired into private life.[3]

Meanwhile, the expelled Rump[4] still clung to what they affirmed were their rights, and the army again placed them in power in the hope that they would consent to execute its wishes. The stubborn Parliament again attempted to resume authority over the officers, but was for a time prevented by force from meeting; and, though again restored when the army was in need of money, was once more dissolved by General Monk[5] on his return with the army from Scotland.[6]

A free Parliament was then summoned; and, when it met on the 26th of April, it was found to contain a great majority of members friendly to the royal family, though most of them were Presbyterians. Monk then declared for the recall of Charles II., and the army was so divided by the ambition of its various leaders that it made no attempt to oppose his resolution. Charles, thereupon, issued from Breda[7] a declaration in which he offered a general pardon and religious toleration. The Parliament at once agreed to his return; and, on his thirtieth birthday, May 29th, 1660, Charles made a triumphal entry into London.

Character of the King.—Charles exercised a strong

personal fascination over all with whom he came into contact for the first time. "He had," says Bishop Burnet,[8] "the art of making all people fond of him at first, by a softness in his whole way of conversation, as he was certainly the best bred man of his age." On account of his pleasant easy manners, he always succeeded in retaining his popularity among the mass of the people, notwithstanding the disasters which his shameless love of pleasure brought upon the nation.

He infinitely surpassed his father in knowledge of the world and practical sagacity, and was quite ready to alter his purposes as expediency required. He hated the details of government, had no exalted notion of his royal duties, and the glory and greatness of England were of much less importance to him than his own comfort and convenience. "Whatever else may happen," he said, "I have no wish to set out on my travels again;" *but he was resolved to let slip no opportunity of regaining to the Crown its old power.*

General Joy at the Restoration.—The King was welcomed to the throne of his ancestors amid the cheers of the whole city. The army which Charles reviewed at Blackheath on his way to London received indeed his bows and smiles in sullen silence, although in their address they declared their readiness to shed their blood in his defence. But amongst all classes of civilians the rejoicing was so manifest as quite to justify the declaration of the Commons that he was "The King of Hearts." "It is my own fault," said Charles with good-humoured cynicism,[9] "that I had not come back sooner, for I find nobody who does not long for my return."

It is not difficult to discover reasons for this universal joy. A government by King, Lords, and Commons,

was that which every one, with the exception of the "Levellers," would all along have preferred; and, to

THE RESTORATION—THE TABLES TURNED.

the nation wearied with its long struggle, Charles was now almost the one remaining hope.

Apart from this, various other things helped to attach the people to him. Many of those who witnessed his triumphal entry, had been the sympathising spectators of his father's execution,[10] and the remembrance of that pitiful fate doubtless added to the enthusiasm with which Charles II. was welcomed to "his own again." Moreover the early adventures of the young king, his campaign against Cromwell, his hair-breadth escapes, his life with the peasantry when in hiding from his pursuers, and his long exile, conferred on him a special and romantic interest.[11]

The question naturally arises whether it was *wise* to recall the royal family without exacting guarantees for the security of liberty. A generation had not elapsed before it became necessary to dethrone the brother of this same Charles,[12] and to make that clear Declaration of the Rights of the people which was omitted now.

But the great danger at this time threatening the nation was the rule of a succession of petty despots set up and pulled down by the caprice of an all-powerful army. While that army was united, even the most hopeful might well despair for the liberty of England. It fortunately happened that, after the fall of Richard Cromwell, the soldiery were split up into factions; and, had our ancestors lost this golden opportunity, they might have long lamented their folly under a tyranny worse than that of the worst of the Stuart dynasty.[13]

1. Cromwell's younger son Henry was a much abler man than Richard.
2. **Speech from the Throne.** Each session of Parliament begins with a speech from the sovereign to the Houses of Parliament. The Protector had all the powers and honours of a king.
3. The Parliament was dissolved on April 22, 1659.
4. **The Rump.** See pp. 59, 84.
5. **General Monk** had been left by Cromwell in Scotland, while he himself pursued Charles II. to Worcester.
6. Monk first demanded that all the Presby-

terian members who had been expelled (see page 59) should be restored. He then insisted that all vacancies should be filled up and the Parliament dissolve itself. This forms the constitutional end of the Long Parliament, after a nominal existence of nearly twenty years. (See page 32.)

7. **Breda.** A fortified town in Holland near the Belgian frontier, twenty-eight miles north of Antwerp. Charles was living there at this time. The name occurs three times in connection with this king. (1) He made the *Treaty of Breda* with the Scottish Covenanters in 1650; (2) He issued the *Declaration of Breda* in 1660; and (3) He terminated a disgraceful Dutch war by the *Peace of Breda* in 1667.
8. **Bishop Burnet** (1643-1715). His chief work is his 'History of My Own Times,' extending from the outbreak of the Civil War to 1713.
9. **Cynicism,** literally, *dog-like surliness.* It here means distrust in human nature.
10. See p. 64.
11. See pp. 78-81.
12. James II. was dethroned in 1688-9.
13. See Macaulay's History of England, vol. i.

THE CLARENDON MINISTRY. 1660–1667.

CHARLES II.

PROCEEDINGS of the Convention Parliament. This Parliament, carried away by the enthusiasm of the Restoration, lent itself to acts of vengeance[1] for the past. Those judges of the late king who had not surrendered themselves for trial, were executed, and the rest imprisoned for life. The bodies of Cromwell, his son-in-law Ireton,[2] and others, were exposed at Tyburn,[3] where they were beheaded and burnt under the gibbet.

The Convention next applied itself to what has been the great problem of England's history in modern times—the settlement of *a sufficient revenue* for the increased national wants and the establishment of *a standing army* for the defence of the realm, consistently with *the preservation of liberty.* The two first of these were now arranged, but the consideration of the last was postponed.

Charles received a fixed annual revenue of £1,200,000 for life,[4] and in return he consented to the abolition of all the feudal rights of the Crown. This relieved the landholders from their heaviest burden; and it was now voted that the excise [5] duties upon beer and other liquors should be settled *for ever* upon the Crown.[6]

In the next place, a grant was made for the payment of the arrears due to the soldiery, and that formidable body was quietly discharged; and such was their self-restraint and discipline, that they settled down without disturbance. Two regiments—one of which, the Coldstreams, came from Scotland with Monk; and the other, brought from Dunkirk—were retained under the name of Guards, and formed the *nucleus of a standing army.*

Religious Persecution.—During the first seven years of his reign, Charles was guided by one who had faithfully shared his exile. This was Edward Hyde, now made Lord Chancellor and created Earl of Clarendon.[7] He had begun his parliamentary career as a reformer, but was now an extreme upholder of the royal prerogative and of the English Church.

Accordingly, in the New Parliament,[8] religious persecution was soon begun. The Presbyterians and Independents were expelled from the Church of England; the prayer-book was restored; while, year by year, Acts were passed enforcing additional penalties on all who refused to conform to Episcopalian rites and to take an oath that it was unlawful in any circumstances to rebel against the king.[9]

On account of these Acts, more than 2000 clergymen were deprived of their livings and forbidden to preach under the most severe penalties.

Shortly after the accession of Charles, an Act was passed in Scotland renouncing the Covenant, and Argyle was condemned and executed. Similar Acts [10] to those in force in England against Dissenters were soon introduced and carried into effect with unsparing rigour. An attempt at an insurrection was speedily quelled by the defeat of the Covenanters at the *Pentlands*,[11] when the vengeance taken upon them was so severe that the king himself thought fit to interpose. They, in their turn, defeated Graham of Claverhouse [12] at Drumclog,[13] but were at last completely defeated at *Bothwell Bridge*,[14] upon the Clyde. Long after all resistance was over, they were butchered without mercy by the troops of Claverhouse, whose vengeance, even on those who had thrown down their arms, could with difficulty be restrained. This battle ended for a time the armed resistance of the Covenanters, but under the Duke of York, afterwards James II., the persecution became still more severe.

Naval War with Holland.—While these events were taking place in Scotland, England had become entangled in foreign war.

Charles had received many favours from Holland during his exile, but England was jealous of the commercial enterprise of that country. The Parliament, therefore, passed repeated Navigation Acts against their rival. This soon led to a proclamation of war.[15] In the battles that followed, the naval fame won during the rule of Cromwell was almost completely lost.

At the beginning, the Dutch sustained a serious defeat off *Lowestoft*;[16] but, after increasing the strength of their fleet, they again put out to sea. An encounter took place off the *North Foreland*[17] which lasted three

days, and the English were compelled to retreat up the Thames after twenty of their ships had been sunk. A third battle at the mouth of the Thames was more disastrous to the Dutch than the previous one had been to the English; but, again taking the English by surprise, they appeared in the Thames, burned several men-of-war at Chatham, and for a time blockaded

THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES.

London. For weeks, they sailed along the coasts unmolested and then returned home, having inflicted on England the greatest national humiliation she had suffered since the Norman Conquest.[18] While England was smarting under this disgrace, Charles basely signed a treaty with Holland,[19] which left the two powers in much the same position as before the war began.

The Great Plague of London and the Great Fire.—Meanwhile, London had sustained two almost overwhelming disasters, which for a time seriously crippled the trade of the country. The *plague* had been the terror of the capital for more than three hundred years, and annually devoured a certain number of victims; but in December 1664, it broke suddenly out with a virulence unexampled since the terrible year of 1349.[20] In 1665 about 70,000 persons,[21] or nearly one-third of all the inhabitants, died. Business was completely stopped, and the streets became green with grass. The houses which the plague had entered were marked with a red cross that the few passers-by might avoid them. Instead of the noise of traffic, almost the only sound heard day or night was the tolling of bells. After sunset, carts went their rounds through the streets—the drivers uttering the dismal cry, "Bring out your dead!"

The pestilence had no sooner ceased its ravages than a fire broke out which laid nearly the whole city in ashes. About one o'clock on a September morning in 1665, flames were seen issuing from a baker's shop in Fish Street.[22] The previous summer had been exceptionally dry, and the wooden houses but fed the fury of the flames. Fanned by an east wind the fire spread with alarming rapidity from house to house, and continued raging for four days. When it was at last extinguished, the city was a heap of smoking ruins. About 13,000 houses and 90 churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral,[23] were completely destroyed.

It was groundlessly believed that the Catholics had wilfully caused the fire, and a most unjust statement to this effect was inscribed upon the column erected

in London to commemorate the event. Dryden boldly rebuked the false charge :—

> "Where London's column, pointing to the skies,
> Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and *lies*."

Much good came out of this disaster. The fire had acted as a purifying agent, for by it the seeds of disease were destroyed, and many hovels which had been mere dens of pestilence were burned down. Thus, as the houses were rebuilt of stone, and the new streets made wider, there has never been another great plague in London.

Fall of Clarendon.—While the country was suffering from the effects of the plague and fire, it gradually became known that the money raised for the war had not been employed to support the navy but had been wasted on officials and courtiers. The Commons demanded an inquiry into the details of the expenditure, which was rejected by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Charles deserted his minister,[24] who, to escape the penalties of impeachment, had to take refuge in France.

"We must not let the respect we justly feel for Clarendon as a writer blind us to the faults which he committed as a statesman." [25] His slavish subjection to the king led him to most serious crimes against the honour and liberty of England, although this certainly gave the profligate monarch no excuse for leaving him so ungratefully to his fate.

1. The Act naming those who were to be punished, was mis-called an Act of Indemnity or Pardon.
2. The corpses of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw (see p. 65) were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey. The bodies of Cromwell's mother and daughter, of Pym, and of the illustrious Blake, were also thrust promiscuously into a hole in the adjoining graveyard. Blake is now buried in St. Margaret's Church.
3. **Tyburn.** Tyburn Hill, near Hyde Park, was for a long time the place of public execution in London.
4. See p. 23. The country has now returned to the plan taken with Charles I., of

granting the revenue from year to year. £1,200,000 then would be equivalent to over three millions now.

5. **Excise**, a tax on *home* commodities. It is an '*in-land*' tax corresponding to the '*out-land*' custom duties on imports and exports.
6. By this act, the feudal system was abolished, and *indirect* was substituted for *direct* taxation.
7. He was a prominent member of the Long Parliament, and joined the king's party after the publication of the Grand Remonstrance (see p. 35).
8. **New Parliament.** It lasted from 1661-1679, having thus a much longer *actual* working existence than the Long Parliament had. After the first few years, many of its members received regular bribes both from the English ministers and the French king; it has thus become known as *The Pension Parliament.*
9. **Dissenters**, *i.e.*, those who differ from and do not conform to the Established Church. It was at this time that the word came first into use.
10. The Acts against Dissenters are known as 'The Clarendon Code.' They are as follows:—
    (1) *The Corporation Act* (1661), requiring all members of corporations to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England;
    (2) *The Act of Uniformity* (1662), providing that every minister should publicly declare his assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, or be deprived of his benefice. Two thousand clergymen were turned adrift;
    (3.) *The Conventicle Act* (1664), meant to prevent the deprived clergymen from forming congregations, and enacting that any person present at a religious meeting not held according to the Established Church should be imprisoned, and for a third offence transported for seven years;
    (4.) *The Five Mile Act* (1665) forbidding the dissenting clergymen from coming within *five miles* of any corporate town or place where they had been ministers except when travelling.
11. **Pentlands**, a range of hills a few miles south-west of Edinburgh. The scene of the battle is called Rullion's Green.
12. **Graham of Claverhouse**, afterwards made Viscount Dundee.
13. **Drumclog**, a farm-house, about 12 miles south-west of Glasgow.
14. **Bothwell Bridge**, over the Clyde, between Hamilton and Glasgow. The battle was fought on the 22nd of June 1679.
15. 22nd February 1665.
16. **Lowestoft.** This battle was fought in 1665.
17. **North Foreland**, fought in 1666, sometimes described as the Battle in the Downs.
18. All the disasters of this war were due to the extravagance of Charles II., who seized every opportunity of diverting the money voted for the fleet to his own pleasures.
19. Called the Peace of Breda. See note 7, page 99.
20. The year of the Black Plague in the time of Edward III.
21. In the same proportion this would now mean a death in London of nearly 1,500,000 people.
22. Near London Bridge.
23. That is, Old St. Paul's. The new Cathedral was designed by Sir Christopher Wren.
24. Clarendon's love for the Constitution offended Charles, his pure life seemed a rebuke to the vicious courtiers, and his subserviency to the Crown alienated the people. Thus no one regretted his exile.
25. Macaulay.

THE RENEWAL OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT.

THE Ministry of the Cabal.[1]—The fall of Clarendon indicated that the Royalist reaction had spent its force. The great English Revolution of the seventeenth century—*the transfer of the supreme control of the Executive Administration from the Crown to the House of Commons*—was throughout this Long Parliament proceeding rapidly and steadily.

Charles, kept poor by his follies and vices, was continually in want of money. This, the Commons alone could legally give him; and, as the price of their grant, they gradually assumed the power of breaking up cabinets [2] and of directing the course of foreign policy. Thus, while loudly and sincerely professing their attachment to the royal office and the royal person, they had fallen just as furiously upon Clarendon as the Long Parliament had fallen on Strafford.[3] While upholding the principle that *the king can do no wrong*,[4] they were determined to hold *ministers of the sovereign responsible for his acts*.

The ministry which succeeded was that known as *the Cabal*, a body of men of the most corrupt character; and under their administration the action of the English government was of the most unconstitutional and disgraceful kind. Of this cabinet, the chief in influence with the king, but not in ability,[5] was the Duke of Buckingham—the equally dangerous son of that ill-omened favourite who first led the House of Stuart on the perilous path which finally ended in its ruin.

England, France, and Holland.—At this time, France was by far the most powerful state in Europe.[6] Its ambitious monarch, Louis XIV., was bent upon the conquest of the Netherlands, and it was the undoubted policy of England to aid Holland in resisting his encroachments; but Charles and his advisers—ever ready to barter the honour of England to secure the means for vicious pleasure—had sold Dunkirk [7] to the French king, and agreed to favour his design. It was only when popular indignation became too great to be withstood that Charles concluded a treaty known as the *Triple Alliance*,[8] by which England, Holland, and Sweden bound themselves

to resist Louis. This league was welcomed by the people and called forth the enthusiasm of the Puritans, who declared that it was the only good thing which had been done since the king came to the throne.

Louis pretended to yield; but at the same time he offered *privately* to supply Charles with money and support him (if necessary) with an army in England, provided only that he would desert his allies. Charles, wishing to be free from the scrutiny of Parliament, accepted the dishonourable proposal. Accordingly, he signed the *Secret Treaty of Dover*—agreeing, on condition of receiving £200,000[9] from the French king, to support him in seizing Holland. It was also stipulated in this base bargain, that after Louis' continental conquests had been completed, Charles should, with the aid of a French army, establish an absolute monarchy in England.

"Had this treaty been publicly known, the history of the government of the Stuarts would doubtlessly have terminated with the year 1670. For that which James's proceedings never even threatened was absolutely sacrificed by Charles—the national security as against France."[10]

The profligate monarch continued through life to be the pensioner of Louis, and was ever ready to promote his schemes, if sufficiently bribed, and if the danger was not too great. He therefore entered upon a war with Holland.[11] A detachment of English troops, under the Duke of Monmouth,[12] assisted the French to overrun that country, and the Dutch were defeated by the English in several naval engagements, but the war was so unpopular that Charles was compelled to conclude a peace.[13]

The Danby Administration.—The Cabal broke up

in 1673, and, for six years, Charles was nominally under the guidance of the *Earl of Danby*. Though the actual nature of the agreement between Charles and Louis was of course unknown, their evident friendship awakened strong jealousy against the Catholics. The Duke of York also had publicly professed his conversion to Catholicism, and had married the Catholic princess of Modena. So alarmed was the Parliament, that the *Test Act*[14] was passed, debarring from office all who refused to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation.[15] On this account the Duke of York was compelled to resign his office of Lord High Admiral; and towards the end of the reign, a Bill[16] for excluding this prince from the throne formed a subject of bitter controversy between the Commons and the Crown.

The public mind was, at this time, just in the mood to give ear to any story which seemed to confirm its fear and distrust of the Catholics. Titus Oates, a disgraced clergyman of the Church of England, took advantage of this to excite universal alarm by a false account of a religious plot.[17] He affirmed that a scheme had been contrived to burn down London, to massacre the Protestants, and to assassinate the king, while a French army was at the same time to land in Ireland.

The stupid fabrication happened to be strangely confirmed by the murder of a justice of the peace[18] who had received the deposition[19] of Oates. This was all that was needed to rouse throughout the country a wild hatred against the Catholics. They were most cruelly dealt with; the peers and gentlemen denounced by Oates were committed to the Tower, and the informer himself received a pension of £1200 a year.

The panic excited by the inventions of Oates was in-

creased by the discovery that Danby had been negotiating with Louis for a pension to the king of England. This statesman might be described as a weaker Clarendon. He had some regard for the honour of his country and the authority of Parliament, while his arrangement of the marriage between the Princess Mary and William of Orange[20] prove that he was at heart opposed to the ambition of France. But ministers had not yet learned to separate their public duty from obedience to the personal wishes of the monarch; and, like his predecessors, Danby had sold England's aid to Louis that his extravagant master might have money to spend upon his pleasures. He urged that all had been done by command of the king, but the Commons rightly refused to listen to such a plea. Accordingly, Danby was impeached;[21] and an Act (specially directed against the Duke of York) was introduced to exclude Catholics from succeeding to the throne.

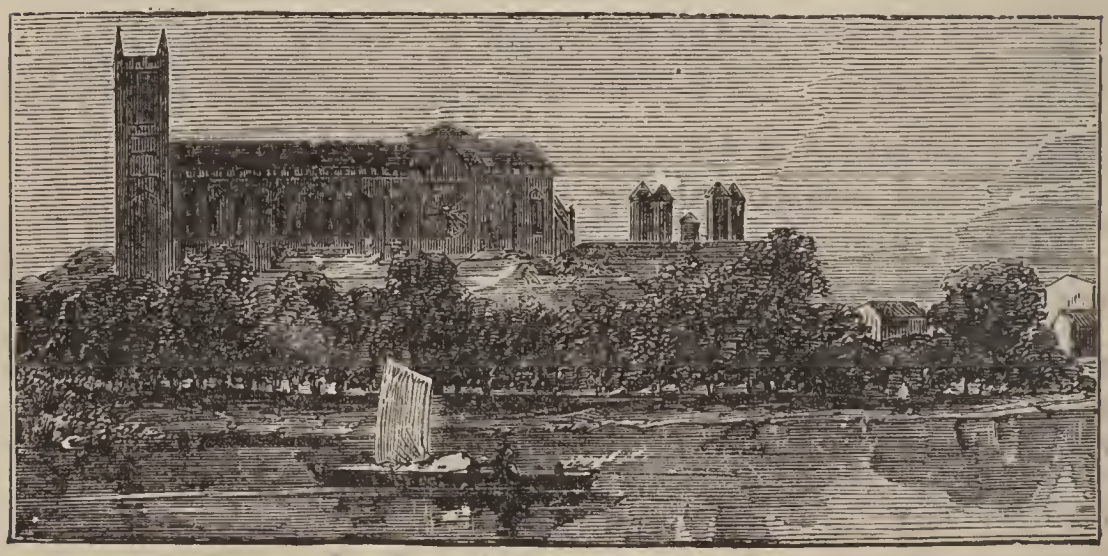
Rather than consent to the proposals of the Commons, Charles dissolved the Parliament; but, in order to influence the electors, he assented to the passing of the Act known as the *Habeas Corpus Act*[22] and generally regarded as one of the principal bulwarks of the liberty of the person. By it, the arbitrary authority exercised by the judges and the crown in regard to imprisonment before trial was completely overthrown.

The Ryehouse Plot.—Towards the end of the reign, several of the leading Whig noblemen entered into a plot to assassinate both Charles and the Duke of York and to raise the Duke of Monmouth to the throne. They were to have been attacked at *Rychouse*, a farm on the way from Newmarket to London. The secret, however, became known, and the leaders of the conspiracy were executed.

The disclosure of the plot caused a strong feeling in favour of the king, and he became almost as popular as at the Restoration. When he not long afterwards died of apoplexy,[23] the Duke of York was allowed to succeed without opposition.

1. **Cabal.** The word Cabal had then much the same meaning as the word Cabinet. It meant a more trusted section of the Privy Council. From the accident that the initials of the hated ministers form the word, it came to mean a party secretly plotting for an evil purpose. The names of the five ministers were, *C*lifford, *A*rlington, *B*uckingham, *A*shley, and *L*auderdale.
2. **Cabinets.** Thus Clarendon in 1667, the Cabal in 1673, and Danby in 1679, all fell before this one Parliament.
3. See Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. p. 193.
4. **The king can do no wrong.** This is a principle of modern constitutional monarchy. The responsibility rests with the *ministers* who advise the Crown.
5. The most able member of the Cabal was Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. Of him Dryden says that he was—

   "For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
   Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit."
6. Spain had lost its high position, and such modern states as Prussia and Russia had then no great position in Europe.
7. **Dunkirk.** The sale took place in 1662.
8. **Triple Alliance,** signed 28th January, 1668.
9. £200,000 would be equal to about £500,000 now.
10. This passage is from Lord Brougham's British Constitution, chap. vii. p. 95.
11. Declared in 1672.
12. **Duke of Monmouth,** the natural son of Charles II.
13. Peace between England and Holland on February 9th, 1674; France did not make peace with the brave republic till the peace of Nimeguen in 1678.
14. **Test Act.** This Act remained in force from 1673 to 1828.
15. **Doctrine of Transubstantiation** is one of the cardinal doctrines of Catholicism.
16. Known as the 'Exclusion Bill.' It was passed by the Commons both in 1679 and 1681. Both times it was rejected by the Lords.
17. Falsely called the 'Popish Plot' (1678).
18. **Justice of the Peace.** He was called Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.
19. **Deposition,** the statement made on oath by a witness.
20. The marriage took place in 1678.
21. 19th December 1678.
22. **Habeas Corpus Act,** passed May 27th, 1679.
23. Charles II. died February 5th, 1685.



WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS.
1685–1688.

JAMES II.

ACCESSION and Character of James II.[1]—Charles, on being told by his brother the Duke of York of a plot against his life, is said to have replied, "No, no, James; they will never kill me to make you king." The fact that James was a Catholic was sufficient to destroy his popularity. He possessed neither the personal charm nor the practical tact which had enabled Charles to retain the attachment of his subjects notwithstanding the dissatisfaction caused by his connection with Louis of France. James was generally believed to have the merit of sincerity and honesty. He had boldly declared his conversion to Catholicism, and now stated that "although he meant to maintain the Church of England in her temporal dignity, he was unwilling to communicate with her in things spiritual."

His statement to the Privy Councillors, that he had no fondness for arbitrary power and that he was determined to "maintain the established government in Church and State," produced at once a sense of inexpressible relief. "We have now for our Church," it was said, "the word of a king, and of a king who was never worse than his word." The Parliament, accordingly, manifested their loyalty by a grant of a revenue

of two millions, and by the passing of a law that whoever should move to "alter or change the descent of the crown should be adjudged guilty of high treason."

Monmouth's Rebellion.—The hold which James possessed on public confidence was increased by the joint attempt at rebellion of Argyle in Scotland and Monmouth in England. These two noblemen had for some years been refugees in Holland.

The former landed in the west of Scotland;[2] but, after a vain attempt to seize Glasgow, he was captured[3] while attempting to escape, and was executed at Edinburgh on June 30th, 1685.

Monmouth appeared as the Protestant champion, and claimed to succeed to the throne on the ground that his mother, Lucy Walters, had been married to Charles at the Hague. He had intended to act simultaneously with Argyle, but was delayed by contrary winds, and did not land[4] until the Scottish rising had failed.

The south-west of England was strongly Puritan; and so rapidly did the people flock to his standard, which had been set up in the market-place of *Lyme*, that the day after his landing his followers amounted to 1500 foot and several horsemen.[5] He next marched to *Taunton* in Somerset, where, on his arrival, the doors and windows were wreathed with flowers, and a train of young girls presented him with a gorgeously embroidered flag and a richly bound Bible.

Emboldened by his reception, he now proclaimed himself king. He had then 5000 infantry and 1000 cavalry—mostly farmers, peasants, and miners, who had never before borne arms. Finding Bath and Bristol too strong for attack, he marched in a haphazard manner through *Somersetshire*, closely followed and harassed by

Churchill.[6] Meantime, Feversham was coming to the assistance of the latter, with nearly 3000 men.

The two armies came in sight of one another near *Bridgewater*. Monmouth resolved to trust to a surprise by night to snatch a victory which he had no hope of obtaining over the disciplined soldiers of the king in fair fight in open day. Though the moon was then at the full, the thick fog which gathered on the marsh concealed the advance of his troops.

But for a deep ditch,[7] which, unknown to Monmouth, covered the front of the royal camp, his scheme might have been successful. This obstacle proved fatal to it. The accidental firing of some stray shots gave the alarm, and speedily the royal troops were drawn up facing the ditch in battle array. The cavalry of Monmouth were soon dispersed by the volleys of the guards; and, although his infantry for a time fought with a stubbornness worthy of veteran troops, he saw that his cause was lost, and fled from the field.

Deserted by their leader and separated from their ammunition waggons, the insurgents still resolutely held their own; but soon the guards, making a detour,[8] charged them on both flanks; the artillery poured its shot amongst them, the cavalry advanced to the charge, and the rout was complete. Monmouth, some days afterwards, was discovered in a ditch, disguised as a peasant. He was taken to London, and vainly implored James to pardon him. "Your crime is too great," said the inexorable monarch. Nine days after the defeat of Sedgemoor the hapless nobleman suffered execution on Tower Hill.[9]

Kirke's Lambs, and the Bloody Assizes.—Thus ended the last battle fought on English soil.[10] After

MONMOUTH AND JAMES.

the victory, the cavalry under Colonel Kirke searched all the villages round—putting the fugitives to a cruel death, and arresting all who had sheltered them. These troops bore a flag with the figure of a paschal lamb[11] upon it; and the people of Cornwall long remembered with horror the atrocities of '*Kirke's lambs*.'

This military massacre did not satisfy James, and it was followed by a commission[12] known ever afterwards as the '*Bloody Assizes*.' Under Judge Jeffreys, already notorious for his unscrupulous disregard of justice and his delight in cruelty, it placed on trial every one suspected of treason. More than 300 persons were executed, 1000 were sold into slavery, and a large number more were whipped and fined. The queen's maids of honour had to be bribed with the sum of £2000 to obtain the pardon of the 'maids of Taunton' who had presented Monmouth with the banner.

The trial which showed most clearly the brutality of Jeffreys and excited the greatest indignation, was the first of the crimson list. The victim was the aged Lady Alice Lisle,[13] who had lived long in retirement at Winchester, but was now accused of harbouring two of the rebels. The jury were literally '*bullied*' into finding her guilty, and the exultant wretch who acted as her judge condemned the venerable lady to be *burned alive*. It was with the greatest difficulty that her friends persuaded the king to change the sentence, and she was beheaded at Winchester five days after her trial.

Such severity defeated its purpose, and helped to deprive the king of the attachment of the nation.

Unconstitutional Acts of the King. — James's policy was directed to the attainment of two ends—the restoration of Catholicism, and the establishment of

absolute power. To obtain these he required a new High Commission Court[14] to ensure ecclesiastical supremacy, a settled revenue, a standing army, and the repeal of the Habeas Corpus[15] and Test Acts.[16] He soon obtained the first of these,[17] Parliament had already granted him the second, it also allowed him to raise the army from ten to twenty thousand men,[18] but it steadfastly refused to yield to him on the last point.

To get over this obstacle to his plans, James claimed the double power of *suspending* and of *dispensing with* any law he chose. The former of these meant that he might determine that *for a given time* any particular statute should not be enforced; the latter, that in the case of *particular persons named by the king* the law should be inoperative. Accordingly, notwithstanding the Test Act, he began to officer his troops with Catholics and to appoint them to the highest offices of state. He followed this up by demanding that a Declaration of Indulgence,[19] suspending the penal laws against Nonconformists and Catholics, should be read by every clergyman on two successive Sundays.

Seven bishops[20] who petitioned against it were arrested. While the accused men were waiting for their trial, tumults took place all over the country, and the people of the west prepared to take up arms. The popular spirit is well shown in a Cornish song, concerning Sir J. Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, one of the seven—

"And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die?
Then twenty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why."

The charge was 'the writing or publishing in the county of Middlesex, of a false, malicious, and seditious

libel.' Every point was closely contested—the '*writing*,' the '*publication*,' and whether these took place in the *county of Middlesex*, all occupied the court for hours. The accused were finally acquitted on the grand constitutional ground that the '*dispensing power claimed by the king was illegal*;' and that the document complained of was no libel, but that '*every subject has a right* to petition his sovereign."

Even the soldiers whom James had placed on Hounslow Heath to overawe the capital, shouted with joy when the news of 'not guilty' reached the camp.

James and William of Orange: Flight of the King.—This last act decided leading politicians of all parties to seek the assistance of William, Prince of Orange,[21] who had married Mary, the daughter of James. Had not a son about this time been born to James, no decisive step might have been taken so speedily; for, with the death of James, Mary would have ascended the throne. But it was now evident that, if a Catholic restoration was to be prevented, it must be done without delay.

It so happened that Louis of France was engaged in a war with Germany, and was therefore unable to help his faithful pensioner. When William landed at Torbay with 13,000 soldiers, he met with no resistance, for, owing to Churchill, the soldiers sent to check his advance deserted to him. Through the same influence, Anne, the daughter of James, joined the insurgents. "God help me," said James, "for my own children have forsaken me." When he learned that his wife and child had escaped to France, he proceeded down the Thames to the Isle of Sheppey to follow them. There he was intercepted and brought back to London; but on learning of the entry of the Dutch into the city,

he went to Rochester. Thence, in the dead of night,

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

the fugitive king took a small boat down the Medway, and went on board a smack which conveyed him to France.[22]

1. **James II.** reigned from 1685 to 1688.
2. He landed, in May 1685, in the country of his own clan—the clan Campbell—at Campbeltown, in Kintyre.
3. He was captured on June 17, 1685.
4. Monmouth landed in Lyme, Dorset, on June 11, only six days before Argyle's capture.
5. Monmouth landed with only eighty followers.
6. **Churchill,** afterwards world-famous as the Duke of Marlborough.
7. Called the *Old Bussex Rhine* or stream.
8. **Detour,** a *roundabout way*. Instead of advancing straight forward, they went a distance round and fell upon the flanks of the enemy.
9. The Battle of Sedgemoor was fought on July 6, and Monmouth was executed on July 15.
10. The battles of William and of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were fought in *Scotland* and *Ireland*—the last being Culloden in 1746.
11. **A Paschal Lamb,** *i.e.*, a lamb ready for the sacrifice of the Passover. Kirke and his cavalry had been serving in Tangiers in Africa against the Mohammedans; and it was there that they had got this symbol.
12. **Commission** here means a body appointed to conduct the trials of the suspected persons.
13. **Lady Alice Lisle.** The true reason of the savage hostility of the Crown to this lady was that her husband, John Lisle, had been one of the judges who had presided at the trial of Charles I.
14. **High Commission Court,** for the trial of all ecclesiastical cases. See p. 34.
15. **Habeas Corpus Act.** The repeal of this Act would have enabled the King to arrest and keep in prison without trial all those opposed to his policy.
16. **Test Act,** see p. 108. This Act rendered it illegal for Roman Catholics to be officers in the army or hold any public office.
17. The New High Commission Court was composed of six persons under the presidency of the notorious Judge Jeffreys.
18. James was in receipt of a regular pension from Louis of France for the support of his army.
19. **Declaration of Indulgence.** There were two of these proclaimed by James—the first on April 4, 1687, and the second on April 27, 1688. The 20th and 27th of May, 1688, were the days appointed for reading the Declaration.
20. The chief of the seven was Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.
21. **William of Orange,** see note 5, p. 87. This Prince was son of the former William of Orange, and of Mary, daughter of Charles I. He had married his *cousin* Mary, daughter of James II.
22. James' flight took place on December 18, 1688.

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS—*Continued.*

THE Convention Parliament: The Declaration of Rights.—Before his escape James had burnt the writs summoning a new Parliament; and, as he made his way down the Thames during his first attempt at flight, he had thrown the Great Seal[1] into the river. It was therefore impossible to summon a Parliament according to the usual methods, but the difficulty was surmounted by the Privy Councillors. They convoked the House of Lords; and a second House was formed

of those members of the Commons who had sat in any Parliament during the reign of Charles II., and of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council-men of London.

Both Houses requested William to take upon himself the temporary administration of the kingdom, and to summon representatives of the counties and boroughs to a *Convention*,[2] to consider the affairs of the kingdom.

There were in this Assembly *five* parties, and a clear knowledge of their proceedings is essential to an understanding of the principles of our modern government.

In the first place, there were *two* very small extreme sections—royalists, on the one hand, republicans, on the other. The former would have at once recalled the sovereign without making any demand for a renewal of constitutional rule; the latter would have formed a commonwealth, refusing ever again to submit to a king. It soon became evident that both of these views met with little support, and those holding them joined in with the more numerous parties.

Of the remaining *three*, two might be called 'tory' and one 'whig.' The *first* wished to recall James, but agreed that it would be necessary to take precautions to secure the liberties of the country. This party soon joined with the *second*, which declared that the fugitive king had by his flight deserted the throne, and was, in the eyes of the law, dead;[3] so that the next heir, Mary of Orange, was actually Queen of England.

The *third* or whig party argued in a more thorough way. They pointed out that there had been maintained the dangerous doctrine of the divine right of kings, many holding that the sovereign was independent of parliament and above the law; and they

rightly held that such views were utterly inconsistent with the principles of a limited constitutional monarchy. It was, they asserted, essential once and for ever to strike down a principle so fatal to freedom.

Accordingly, they advocated that parliament should boldly depose the king, and confer the crown on some other prince—not necessarily the hereditary heir. This course was in effect adopted.[4] It was thus finally established that the English monarchy rests upon a compact between the king and people; and that, if the king defies the law of the country and attacks its liberty, he may with justice and in accordance with the constitution be deposed from the throne he has disgraced and from the office he has used for purposes so alien to its true function. This is the true purport of the Great Revolution of 1688.

The *regency* was then offered to William and the *crown* to the Princess Mary. But the prince refused to occupy such a position, and Mary nobly declined a throne unshared by her husband. It was therefore agreed that William and Mary should be joint sovereigns, and the crown was accepted by them on this condition.[5]

Before they received the crown they gave their assent to the famous *Declaration of Rights*,[6] by which for the first time a secure basis was obtained for a constitutional monarchy. Its more important provisions were those against the *suspending* and *dispensing* powers, and the levying of money without consent of Parliament. It was a clear limitation of the prerogatives of the sovereign in regard to legislation, taxation, the maintenance of a standing army, the liberty of the person, and the rights of private property.

This new charter of liberty received its name because

it is, in its own words, a '*Declaration*' of the true '*rights*' of the people of this realm; and it concludes with the firm statement that 'they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises,[7] as their undoubted *rights and liberties*.'

It was finally confirmed by the Bill of Rights passed by the first Parliament of William and Mary. This bill also provided for the succession of the crown to William or Mary, as the one survived the other; to the Princess Anne[8] if Mary had no children, and failing these, to any children that might be born to William. It was declared illegal for a Catholic to hold the crown.

Resistance in Scotland: the Massacre of Glencoe.—As soon as the troops of James were withdrawn from Scotland to repel the invasion of William, the Covenanters proclaimed William king; and although the Duke of Gordon for a time held Edinburgh Castle on behalf of James, he gave up all resistance as soon as the majority of the Scottish Estates[9] declared in favour of William and Mary.

In the Highlands, however, Viscount Dundee[10] summoned the clans to his standard. They had assembled to the number of 3000 at Blair Castle, commanding the wild pass of *Killiecrankie*,[11] when the scouts brought intelligence that General Mackay, who had about an equal number of men under his command, was entering the pass. The soldiers of Mackay were tired with a long march, and did not expect to find the enemy either so near at hand or so completely prepared; accordingly, the majority of them, after passing the narrow defile, threw themselves on the ground to snatch a little repose until the others had come through the pass.

Suddenly some musket-shots were heard, and Mackay

had barely arranged his lines when the Highlanders were upon him. Firing one volley, they threw down their muskets and charged wildly down the pass with

THE PASS OF KILLIECRANKIE.

their claymores. The rush was like a mountain torrent, and swept the troops of Mackay headlong before it.

Never was there a victory more brilliant and complete;

but the death of Dundee, by a chance shot, turned it practically into a defeat, and in the following summer nearly all the clans sent in a formal submission.

Only one clan, the Macdonalds of *Glencoe*,[12] delayed taking the oath of allegiance till after the time fixed by the proclamation[13] offering pardon on submission. Their delay was due wholly to a misunderstanding;[14] but William, who knew nothing of the circumstances,[15] gave a written order "to extirpate that sept[16] of thieves for the vindication of public justice." By means of the blackest treachery, the order was carried out to the letter.

Glencoe is a wild valley not far from Loch Leven,[17] an inlet of the sea separating Argyleshire from Inverness. The valley is neither fruitful nor beautiful, and no one would choose it for a habitation except for the facilities it affords for defence. The Macdonalds did not number altogether more than 200, but would doubtless have sold their lives dear had not their murderers come in the guise of friends.

One hundred and twenty men of Argyle's regiment were sent to quarter on them; and the Macdonalds, believing that their submission had been accepted, received them hospitably. After they had completely lulled all lingering suspicions of unfriendliness, the Campbells suddenly fell on their hosts at daybreak, and massacred all except a few who escaped to the mountains only to perish from hunger and cold amid the winter's snow. This crime forms the worst stain on the memory of William, who was, at the very least, guilty of the grossest carelessness in a matter of life and death.

War in Ireland: Battle of the Boyne.—Ireland was held for James by the Lord-Lieutenant Tyrconnel, who had under his command an army of 50,000 men.

The supporters of William, on learning the flight of James, had collected for security at *Enniskillen* and *Londonderry*, where they maintained a heroic defence against Tyrconnel. The latter city was only saved from surrender by the entry of an English ship with provisions.

Meantime James had landed at Kinsale,[18] and had been received in Dublin with the utmost enthusiasm. There he summoned an Irish Parliament, which passed an Act of attainder against the leading Protestants of Ireland.

But already the Protestants of Enniskillen had defeated the royal troops with great slaughter at *Newton Butler*,[19] the blockade of Londonderry had been raised, and the north of Ireland conquered for William. Marshal Schomberg,[20] taking advantage of the panic thus created, landed at Carrickfergus with 10,000 men and entrenched himself at Dundalk, till the advance of winter rendered operations impossible.

In the spring, reinforcements of Dutch and Danish soldiers, with several English regiments, brought his force to over 30,000 men; and, in a short time, William himself arrived to take supreme command. James, whose army, though augmented by 8000 French troops sent by Louis, did not muster much above 20,000, resolved to await the attack of William on the south side of the Boyne,[21] having Drogheda strongly garrisoned on his right, and the bridge of Slane on his left. William determined to attack strongly both flanks of the enemy, while his centre plunged boldly into the river. To save the left flank of James, the French troops were withdrawn from the centre; and the Irish infantry, left alone, broke and fled as soon as the troops of William made good their footing. For a

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES FROM THE BOYNE.

time, the Irish cavalry held them in check; but already the thoughts of James were bent only on flight, and he made no effort to rally his men. At the first symptoms of wavering he galloped towards Dublin, and in hot haste escaped again to France.

The Irish, deserted by their king and disheartened by their disastrous defeat, continued their opposition to William for more than a year. Before they were finally subdued he returned to England, leaving Churchill in supreme command. By the capitulation of Limerick, resistance was finally abandoned; but the treaty [22] then entered into between the generals was not observed by the Protestant Irish Parliament, and a system of iron despotism was enforced for more than a hundred years afterwards.

1. **The Great Seal**; impressed on all documents, proclamations, and edicts *in the name of the sovereign*.
2. **Convention.** That is, an assembly equivalent to a parliament, but not called by a constitutional head like the king. The name is applied (1) to the 'Barebones' parliament summoned by Cromwell in 1653, before he was appointed Lord Protector (see p. 89); (2) to the assembly called by General Monk which recalled Charles II. (see pp. 95 and 99); and (3) to this body which dethroned James II., and elected William of Orange.
3. It is a maxim of our monarchy that '*the king never dies*,' for the moment that one sovereign ceases to live the next heir has really begun to reign. This party held that whenever the *man* James Stuart had left the throne vacant, the *crown* had devolved upon his daughter Mary, who was now actually queen.
4. What took place was this—(1) the Commons enacted that "King James having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original compact between king and people . . . and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant;" (2) the Lords altered the word '*abdicated*' into '*deserted*.'
5. The crown was offered to William and Mary conjointly on 13th February 1689.
6. **Declaration of Rights**, not to be confounded with the *Petition of Right* of 1628. The four most important bulwarks of English liberty are—
   (1) Magna Charta wrung from King John (1215),
   (2) The Petition of Right exacted from Charles I. in 1628 (see p. 24),
   (3) The Habeas Corpus Act forced from Charles II. in 1679 (see p. 109),
   and (4) The Declaration of Rights in January 1689.
7. **Premises**, the propositions *stated before* in the Declaration.
8. **Princess Anne**, second daughter of James II., married to Prince George of Denmark.
9. **Scottish Estates**, the equivalent of the English Parliament. It included bishops, peers, and members of the Commons.
10. **Viscount Dundee**, formerly Graham of Claverhouse (see note 12, p. 105).
11. **Killiecrankie**, in the district of Blair Athol in the north of Perthshire. The battle was fought on July 27th, 1689.
12. **Glencoe.** The massacre of Glencoe took place on February 13, 1692.
13. **The Proclamation** fixed the last day of 1691, as the time before which submission had to be made.
14. Macdonald had gone to Fort-William within the time to make submission, but the governor could not receive the oath of allegiance, and sent him to Inverary to

take it. He arrived there a day or two too late.

15. William was deceived by the Earl of Breadalbane (a sworn foe of the Macdonalds) and Sir John Dalrymple Master of Stair, who are chiefly responsible for the deed of blood; but the king should never have signed an order for the *extermination of an entire clan*, without the most careful inquiry.
16. **Sept**, a tribe or clan, so called from the *staff* or *sceptre* of the clan. Others say that it is probably a corruption of the word '*sect*.'
17. **Loch Leven**, not to be confounded with Loch Leven in the county of Kinross.
18. James landed on March 12, 1689.
19. **Newton Butler**, south-west of Enniskillen, on the upper Lough Erne, in the county of Fermanagh. The battle was fought on July 30, 1689.
20. **Schomberg**, a French refugee, who, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled to Holland. He became the faithful friend of William, and was overcome with grief at his death.
21. The battle of the Boyne was fought on July 1, 1690.
22. The 'Treaty of Limerick' has thus become known as '*The Broken Treaty*.'

WILLIAM III.:[1] THE KING APPOINTED BY PARLIAMENT.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHARACTER and Policy of William.—When William of Orange ascended the throne of England he was in his thirty-eighth year. His aspect was pale and furrowed with lines of care, for his bodily frame was all too weak for the heroic spirit which animated it:—

"A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed[2] the tenement of clay."[3]

His eye was of piercing brightness, his brow lofty, his manner cold and passionless. "He had," says a contemporary,[4] "a thin and weak body, was brown-haired, and of a clear and delicate complexion. He had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a

large front,[5] and a countenance composed to gravity and authority. . . . He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle; for then he was all fire, though without passion, he was then everywhere and looked to everything."

With his 'intimates' he was frank, affectionate, and witty, and he was capable of inspiring friendships stronger than death;[6] but by the nation he was respected rather than loved, for he did not shine in social intercourse and experienced little pleasure in the routine of life. His mind was formed for great achievements; and he found his keenest enjoyment in perilous adventure, in the excitement of battle, and in the game of politics which he waged on such a stupendous scale with his antagonist Louis XIV. of France.

William's eager desire was to be not leader of a faction or party, but King of the whole of England. It is one of the glories of this monarch, that through his generosity no blood was shed in England at the great Revolution. The Whigs, who had brought him to the throne, clamoured for vengeance against their Tory foes; but the firm king, by an Act of Grace[7] from the crown, declared "a perfect oblivion for all political offences up to that moment."[8]

The chief motive which led William of Orange to accept the crown of England, was the immense accession of strength he thereby acquired for withstanding the ambitious projects of Louis of France. The two sovereigns, William and Louis, stood out prominently as the most powerful rulers of their time. The destinies of Europe virtually depended on the success of the one against the other. From his childhood,[9] William had

carried on a heroic struggle against his great rival. By the terrible expedient of bursting the sea-dykes and flooding the greater part of his country,[10] he had saved Holland from French conquest; and after continuing the conflict for six years, he at last, by the peace of Nimwegen,[11] had secured its independence.

William and Louis of France.—Shortly after ascending the throne of England, William succeeded in forming the league against France known as the Grand Alliance,[12] of which the principal members were England, Holland, Germany, and Spain. While William was occupied in Ireland, fortune had been favouring the arms of France in its contest with the Allies. In addition to this, the allied fleet had sustained a severe defeat *off Beachy Head*, owing to the culpable reluctance of Torrington,[13] the English admiral, to engage in battle, while the Dutch portion of the fleet were bravely contending against superior numbers. The French landed on the coast of Devon and burned Teignmouth, but the outrage was fatal to the Jacobite rising, which it was hoped their landing would incite. Had Tourville dashed at London instead of attacking the west, the Stuart dynasty might have been re-established by foreign force, and the whole course of English modern history completely changed.

As the chief spirit of the coalition was William, Louis' policy was to give such aid to James that the attention of his rival would be concentrated on the defence of his own throne. Thus the issues of the great European war depended at this time upon the result of the struggle in Ireland; and the victories of the Boyne in 1690, and of Aughrim[14] in 1691, far more than counterbalanced the French successes on the continent.

France was now threatened along its whole line of

defence—on the east, by the Emperor of Germany; on the south-east, by the Duke of Savoy; on the south, by the King of Spain; and on the north, by William of Orange. Louis, however, massed a large force in the Netherlands, where the fortress of Mons[15] fell into his hands. William retreated towards Brussels until he had collected an army sufficient to enable him to take the offensive, but he was unable to tempt the French general to venture an engagement.

So elated were the Jacobites[16] in Paris by the victory of Mons, that Louis believed a strong army had only to show itself in England to make the cause of James triumphant. With that view, he proposed to make a descent on the English coast with 30,000 men, Tourville preceding the transports with the French fleet.

Russel, the English admiral, had previously shown some signs of treason, but he felt keenly the disgrace of submission to a foreign foe. "Do not think," he said, "I will let the French triumph over us on our own seas. If I meet them I will fight them, even though King James were on board." The French numbered only fifty ships to the ninety of the allies; and as Russel proved staunch, the contest was not doubtful long. The larger portion of the enemy's fleet reached St. Malo or Cherbourg in safety, but thirteen vessels were stranded at *La Hogue*,[17] where, after the sailors had escaped on shore, they were burned by the English in sight of the French camp. The victory of La Hogue rendered France for a time practically powerless on the sea, and overthrew for ever all hopes of succour to the Jacobite cause through a French invasion. With it also the last crisis of the war was past and William's ultimate triumph was now practically certain.

THE BURNING OF THE FRENCH SHIPS AT LA HOGUE.

By the year 1697, Louis was reduced to such extremities that he agreed to the treaty of *Ryswick*.[18] Besides resigning all the fruits of his previous victories, he consented to recognise William as king of England and abandon the cause of the Stuarts.

Effects of the War upon Home Affairs.—The progress of the war, as might be expected, exercised great influence on domestic affairs. William, it was said, was sacrificing the interests of England, its treasures, and its soldiers, for the sake of the country of his birth.

These sentiments were eagerly fostered by the Jacobites. Many leading statesmen among the Tories, who from the beginning had only been half-hearted in the cause of William, opened up communications with the court of St. Germains,[19] and various plots were formed against the life of the king.

But the most dangerous project was promoted by Marlborough. Justly or unjustly, this general thought that his military talents had received from William only scant recognition. He knew himself superior to the Dutch officers whom William intrusted with the chief commands, and his proud spirit scorned a subordinate position.

His plan was to induce Parliament to petition for the discharge of all foreign troops. He told the Jacobites that then, secure in his influence over the English army and with the Princess Anne[20] in favour of the scheme, he would effect the return of James without shedding a drop of blood. His real purpose seems to have been to declare for Anne, and thus make *himself*, through the influence of his wife, arbiter of the fate of England and of Europe.

The exact steps taken by Marlborough to further his

design are not known, for it was discovered by William before it began to excite public interest. Marlborough was deprived of all his offices, and banished from court.

In addition to the encouragement which it gave to conspiracies against the government of William, the war tended to increase the influence of the House of Commons. At first, William had chosen his Ministers from both parties in the state; but, as the Tories and Whigs would not work together, he fell upon the expedient of choosing his Ministers from the party which had the majority in the Commons, thus making *the fate of the Ministry and the character of the national policy depend chiefly on the vote of the second chamber.*[21]

The only surviving child of Anne having died in 1700, it became necessary to pass a new Act of Settlement,[22] to provide for the succession to the throne after the death of that Princess herself. All the descendants of Charles I. were passed over, and the crown was settled upon the Princess Sophia of Hanover and her heirs, *being Protestants.*

After the accession of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, to the throne of Spain, Louis was emboldened to seize the seven fortresses,[23] which, according to the Ryswick treaty, were regarded as the Dutch barrier. This led to a renewal of war, and the conclusion of a new Grand Alliance; but before the declaration of war was made, William sustained a severe fall from his horse, which broke his collar-bone and gave a shock to his enfeebled frame from which he never recovered.

Thus ended the reign of one of the greatest of the English sovereigns. "I considered him," says Burnet, "as a person raised up by God to resist the powers of

France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution. And the thirty years, from the year 1672 to his death, in which he acted so great a part, carry in them so many amazing steps of a glorious and distinguishing Providence, that, in the words of David, he may be called, 'The man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself.' After all the abatement that may be allowed for his errors and faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest princes that our history, or indeed that any other can afford."

1. **William III.** William and Mary reigned together from 1689-1694: after the death of Mary, William reigned alone from 1694-1702. But as the policy pursued was throughout William's, it is better to regard the whole period as the reign of William III.
2. **Informed,** *animated, gave life to.*
3. This quotation is from Dryden's description of Shaftesbury in his satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel.'
4. Bishop Burnet (1643-1715). The passage is from his History of his own Time. He says of William III., 'I had occasion to know him well, having observed him very carefully in a course of sixteen years.'
5. **Front,** i.e., *forehead.*
6. The most beautiful example of this was the undying love for him shown by his noble wife, Queen Mary.
7. **Act of Grace,** issued in 1690, after William had in vain sought to induce Parliament to pass an Act of Indemnity.
8. From Bright's History of England, vol. iii. p. 825.
9. William was born in 1650, eight days *after* the death of his father. He had thus been the enemy of Louis of France from the very moment of his birth.
10. This had happened in 1672, after the united provinces of Holland had chosen him as Stadtholder.
11. **Nimwegen,** usually spelt Nimeguen, a town in Holland on the Waal, about 30 miles south of the Zuyder Zee. The peace was declared in 1678.
12. **Grand Alliance,** concluded May 12th, 1689.
13. **Torrington,** formerly Admiral Herbert.
14. **Aughrim,** often spelt Aghrim, in Galway, near the junction of the River Suck with the Shannon.
15. **Mons,** in Hainault, one of the great frontier fortresses of Belgium. It was taken in April 9th, 1691.
16. **Jacobites,** followers of *James,* the name given to the upholders of the Stuart cause.
17. **Cape La Hogue,** in the north of the peninsula of Cotentin, near the town of Cherbourg. The battle was fought on May 17th, 1692.
18. **Ryswick,** a village in Holland between the Hague and Delft, where William had a palace. The peace was signed 20th September 1697.
19. **St. Germain's,** a palace near Paris, where James held his court.
20. **Princess Anne.** Marlborough had married Sarah Jennings, a clever beauty of the court, who became the attendant of the Princess Anne. She quickly acquired the complete confidence of the Princess, and absolute sway over her irresolute and dependent nature. The two ladies were soon on terms of such absolute friendship that the formal barriers of rank were cast aside and they addressed each other on terms of equality as Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Morley. If Anne were on the throne, Marlborough would lack nothing which it was in her power to grant.
21. Two other effects of this war were the establishment of the Bank of England, and the beginning of the National Debt. In order to meet the expenses of the war, Lord Halifax adopted the proposal of William Paterson, a Scotchman, for the establishment of the Bank of England, by which a loan of £12,000,000 was obtained by public subscription, and the nucleus of the National Debt was formed.
22. **Act of Settlement.** See page 109.
23. **The seven fortresses,** extending along the Belgian frontier from Newport, near Dunkirk, to Mons.

THE AGE OF ANNE.

ANNE.

CHARACTER and Policy of the Reign.[1] — The reign of Anne is one of the most brilliant periods in the annals of England. Under the leadership of Marlborough, her armies won a succession of splendid triumphs; under the auspices of Newton,[2] a new era of modern science was inaugurated; and in literature, the age of Anne is second only to the Elizabethan period and the Victorian era.[3]

Yet, although Anne cherished ideas of her sovereign rights as extreme as those of the rest of her family, there never was a reign in which the personality of the sovereign was less visible. The understanding of the queen was dull and her temperament indolent. None of the brilliant encounters between the 'wits'[4] of her time took place in her presence, and she possessed as little interest in art and science as her father.

Although Anne's sympathies were with the Tories and her first House of Commons possessed a very decided Tory majority, the nation was too deeply committed to its gigantic undertaking to draw back without incurring overwhelming disgrace. Accordingly, there was no change in the foreign policy of England and no delay in the preparations for war. Marlborough and Godolphin,[5] confident of the support of the country, began to

fill the leading offices with Whigs, and the brilliant campaigns of Marlborough gave that party a very decided majority in the second Parliament.

Of greater importance than the character of Anne, is that of the military genius who led the armies of England during her reign. Marlborough was not unworthy to succeed William as the head of the Grand Alliance.[6] Though now over forty years of age, he still possessed remarkable personal beauty. His perfect manners, which, according to Chesterfield,[7] 'engrossed the graces,' enabled him to secure the friendship of all whom he cared to win, and who had no special reason for cherishing hostility against him. He possessed a patience which was proof against the strongest provocation if it was his interest to restrain himself, and his insight into weaknesses and peculiarities of character was so keen that no one was his equal in warding off animosities and softening disputes.

Marlborough had far higher military genius than William could claim, for he was one of the greatest generals of modern times, and in his own age his achievements were unrivalled. The lustre of his career was, however, dimmed by selfishness of the most despicable kind. On account of his miserly love of gold, he was frequently prompted to actions incredibly mean; and in the pursuit of power, gratitude, friendship and honour were equally ignored.

The War of the Spanish Succession,[8] 1702–1713.—The first two campaigns of Marlborough were, owing to the inaction of the Dutch deputies,[9] devoid of any great victories; but he succeeded, by the daring energy of his attacks, in driving the French from all the fortresses they had held on the Lower Rhine.

Meantime, while the other forces of the allies [10] had in no case achieved marked success, Louis had gained a footing on the Danube and was about to march on Vienna. It was a bold and clever venture; and but for the fact that he was outwitted by a still more brilliant manœuvre [11] on the part of Marlborough, would have inflicted a death-blow on the Grand Alliance.

Divining with the instinctive rapidity of genius the intentions of Louis, Marlborough did not hesitate for a moment in the hazardous attempt to baffle them. He resolved at once to march across Germany, and join his forces with those from Italy.[12] He succeeded in intercepting the French line of advance; and, although the enemy had the advantage of a very strong position, he gained the overwhelming victory of *Blenheim*.[13] No fewer than 40,000 of the French were killed or taken prisoners.

The results of this battle were momentous. It freed Germany from the grasp of France; it compelled the Elector of Bavaria to sever his connection with Louis; and it enabled Marlborough to make himself master of the Lower Moselle, the gateway to an advance into France. Above all, it demonstrated that in Marlborough a military genius had arisen, with whose impetuous rapidity and tactical skill [14] the best generals of France were unable to cope.

The brilliant success of the English arms on the Danube had been preceded a fortnight previously by a remarkable piece of good fortune in Spain. Sir George Rooke, disappointed in his hopes of capturing Barcelona, succeeded in seizing the fortress of *Gibraltar*.[15] Marlborough, after the victory of Blenheim, intended to march into France[16] along the line of the Moselle; but

the supineness of the Imperial generals prevented him from carrying out a design which would have ended the war in one campaign. One year was therefore spent in comparative inaction; but, in the following year, he gained the great victory of *Ramilies*.[17]

This battle was soon followed by the abandonment of Flanders by the French. Again the timidity of the allies prevented Marlborough from securing the full fruits of his victory by an invasion of France.

Although the spell of French influence was broken, the war still progressed with varying fortunes. In *Spain*, the brilliant genius of the Duke of Berwick[18] made the French cause triumphant; while, in *Italy*, Eugene after driving the French from before Turin had been foiled in his attack on Provence. These reverses were soon far more than atoned for by the surprise and overthrow of the French by Marlborough at Oudenarde,[19] and the capture of Lille.[20]

MARLBOROUGH.

So disheartened was Louis on learning of the surrender of this town, that he proposed terms of peace; but after some months of negotiation he was unable to accept the hard terms that were offered, and resolved to make a last effort to retrieve his fortunes.

Again the forces of Marlborough and Eugene united, this time to strike at the heart of France. The frontier was defended by the army of Villars, and the fortresses

of Tournai, Mons, and Valenciennes[21] lay in the way of the invaders. Tournai surrendered after a month's siege, and the allies were about to invest Mons when they were threatened by the French army.

Instead of attacking Marlborough, the French began to entrench themselves at Malplaquet,[22] in a glade between two forests, to bar his march southwards. This Marlborough permitted them to do until some reinforcements he was expecting came up. On this account, the battle was the most prolonged and the bloodiest in the whole war; but although the allies lost 20,000 men—double the loss of the French—the victory lay with them, and Mons soon afterwards surrendered.

In *Spain*, in the following year, Stanhope won the splendid triumph of Saragossa.[23] His success, indeed, only served to show the hopelessness of contending against the preference of the Spanish people for the Duke of Anjou;[24] but France was now too exhausted to render her alliance with Spain any longer formidable to the peace of Europe. Peace was not concluded till nearly two years afterwards, but before this Marlborough had ceased to command the English troops.

Domestic Affairs.—While these years were rendered illustrious by the splendid successes of the English arms on the Continent, they were not altogether barren in their influence on the domestic history of England.

They witnessed *the completion of the union of England and Scotland*[25] into one kingdom under the name of Great Britain, the succession to be regulated by the Act of Settlement. The legal system and administration of each country were to remain separate, as were also the two Churches; but henceforth there was to be only one House of Peers and one

House of Commons. On the part of Scotland, the proposed union at first awoke jealousy and alarm, but it was carried in the Scotch Parliament. With the experience of the increasing benefits arising from it, all regrets at its accomplishment died gradually away. The inhabitants of the two countries, although retaining several marked peculiarities in habits and belief, are now one in purpose and sympathy.

The close alliance which Marlborough found it necessary to form with the Whigs, had gradually weakened his influence with the Queen. She had never become reconciled to the Act of Settlement,[26] her ardent wish being that her brother the Pretender[27] should succeed her on the throne. Her pleasant and amiable temper in some degree restrained her from violent action, but it spoke volumes for her attachment to the Marlboroughs that she was induced to sanction the appointment of so many leading Whigs to high office.[28]

The final break was caused by a personal quarrel between the Queen and Marlborough's wife. Anne had gradually become weary of the domineering temper of the Duchess; and began to seek solace in the gentle submissiveness of Abigail Hill, a cousin of the Duchess, who on her recommendation had been made lady of the bedchamber.

The new favourite, who now became Mrs. Masham,[29] had formed a close friendship with Harley, the leader of the Tory party and a most accomplished courtier.

While the influence of Godolphin and Marlborough was thus being completely undermined at court, the former was so foolish as to engage in a religious prosecution. Dr. Sacheverell, a conspicuous High Church preacher, had attacked the principles of the Revolution

in a sermon preached in St. Paul's. He was impeached [30] before the House of Lords, and found guilty, but was only sentenced *to abstain from preaching for three years.* Such a sentence was regarded by the Tories as a virtual triumph; and, on learning the result, the people gave expression to their rejoicing by the lighting of bonfires.

This prosecution violently offended the Queen, who dismissed Godolphin and the leading Whigs from office even before the dissolution of Parliament. In the new Parliament, the Tory majority was very decided; and, in the Ministry that followed its election, Harley became Lord High Treasurer, having a short time previously been created Earl of Oxford. With him was associated St. John, whom the Queen created Viscount Bolingbroke, and who became Secretary of State. St. John was unrivalled as an orator, and afterwards acquired considerable fame as a philosophical writer.

Marlborough was dismissed from his command on 1st January 1712; and in the following year the treaty of Utrecht was signed,[31] permitting the Duke of Anjou to succeed to the throne of Spain as Philip V., but securing to England Minorca and Gibraltar; while France promised to cease to shelter the Pretender.

The remaining years of Anne's reign were uneventful, being remarkable chiefly for the jealousies of the two Ministers, their plots against each other, and the intrigues of Bolingbroke on behalf of the Pretender. Anne died before the schemes of Bolingbroke had time to attain fruition, but not before Oxford had been dismissed from office on account of his supposed leaning to the House of Hanover. Immediately before his dismissal, Oxford and Mrs. Masham had a violent quarrel in the presence of the Queen, from which she retired in the utmost agita-

tion and exhaustion, saying that she would never outlive the scene. Three days afterwards she was seized with apoplexy, which gradually passed into stupor and death.[32]

1. **The Reign.** Anne reigned from 1702-1714.
2. **Newton** (1642-1727), the celebrated mathematician, Sir Isaac Newton; his greatest discovery was the Law of Gravitation.
3. It is remarkable that the three most brilliant epochs in English Literature have been under her *Queens*—Elizabeth, Anne, Victoria. The most famous poets in Anne's reign were Dryden and Pope; the principal prose writers were Addison, Steele, Swift, and Defoe.
4. **Wits.** Witty conversation was specially cultivated in the reign of Anne, even among some of the nobility.
5. **Godolphin**, an admirable 'man of business' whom Marlborough got made Lord High Treasurer—a post equivalent to our five Lords of the Treasury, of whom the Prime Minister is one and the Chancellor of the Exchequer another.
6. **The Grand Alliance** included, besides England and Holland, the Emperor of Germany, Prussia, several minor princes, and ultimately Savoy and Portugal.
7. **Chesterfield**, a courtier or statesman of the succeeding generation, who, in his '*Letters to his Son*,' insists much on the importance of cultivating the external graces.
8. **Spanish Succession.** The purpose of this war was to preserve the Balance of Power by preventing a grandson of Louis XIV. (Philip) from becoming King of Spain. The allies supported the Archduke Charles of Austria.
9. **Dutch deputies**, who accompanied the army, and whose consent was necessary before any important movements could be effected.
10. **The Other Forces of the Allies.** There were really *four* theatres of war in this European conflict:—(1) The Netherlands, (2) The Middle Rhine and Upper Danube, (3) Italy, (4) Spain.
11. Led by Prince Eugene of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of his time.
12. The allied troops may fairly be estimated at 50,000, of which 36,000 were commanded by Marlborough; and the number of the French may be set down at 60,000.
13. **Blenheim**, a village in the west of Bavaria, on the Danube, 33 miles below Ulm. The battle was fought on the 13th August 1704.
14. **Tactical skill**, skill in manœuvring. It includes skill both in planning a campaign and in directing the troops in actual battle.
15. **Gibraltar**, the key of the Mediterranean, still remains in British possession, almost the sole relic of her former Continental possessions. It was taken August 3rd, 1704.
16. **To march into France.** This indicates how complete a change Marlborough's genius had effected. Formerly the French had always invaded and almost overrun the Netherlands; Marlborough is now ready to '*march into France*.'
17. **Ramillies**, in Belgium, 26 miles S.E. of Brussels. The victory was won May 23rd, 1706.
18. **The Duke of Berwick**, the natural son of James II. and Anne Churchill. He was thus Marlborough's nephew by blood, although he was fighting on the side of France.
19. **Oudenarde**, Belgium, on the Scheldt, 33 miles west of Brussels.
20. **Lille**, in *France*, on the north-eastern frontier. Marlborough had at last carried the war into the enemy's country.
21. The first and third of these are in the north-east of France, Mons is on the borders of Belgium.
22. **Malplaquet**, a town in the north-east of France, close to the Belgian frontier. The battle was fought 11th September, 1709.
23. **Saragossa**, on the Ebro, in the north-east of Spain. The victory of Saragossa was gained 20th August, 1710.
24. The grandson of Louis XIV. He was established as King of Spain after the war, so that the French gained the main point contended for.
25. **The Union** was effected on the 6th March, 1707.
26. **Act of Settlement**, see p. 109.
27. The young Prince James Edward Stuart, her half-brother.
28. The political history of the parties in this reign may be summed up as follows: (1) At the beginning of the reign, the Tories were in power; (2) The influence of Marlborough led to the gradual introduction of Whig ministers; (3) At last, Harley the Tory leader resigned, and a Whig ministry was constituted (1708); (4) Finally, the fall of the Whigs and the formation of a Tory ministry took place in 1710.
29. **Mrs. Masham**, by her marriage with a gentleman of the Queen's household.
30. He was charged with sedition.
31. 13th July, 1713.
32. Anne died on 1st August (12th August by the New Style) 1713.

HANOVERIAN BRITAIN.

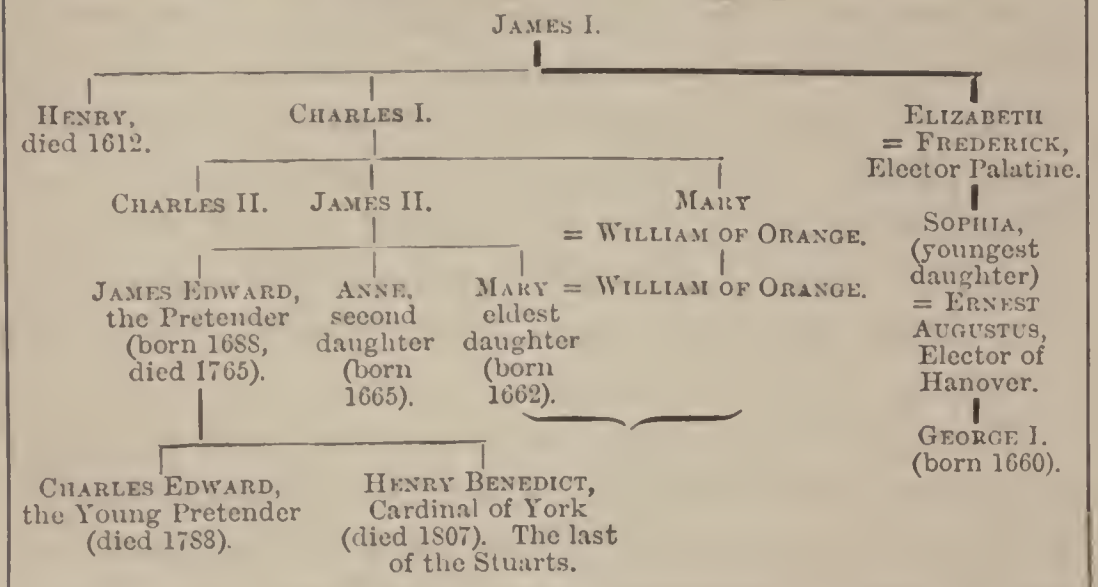
Scale of English Miles

0 50 100 200

II. THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY.

A GERMAN KING UPON THE ENGLISH THRONE

TABLE SHOWING THE DESCENT OF THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY.


James I.
Henry, died 1612.
Charles I.
Elizabeth = Frederick, Elector Palatine.
Charles II.
James II.
Mary = William of Orange.
Sophia, (youngest daughter) = Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover.
James Edward, the Pretender (born 1688, died 1765).
Anne, second daughter (born 1665).
Mary = William of Orange.
Mary eldest daughter (born 1662).
George I. (born 1660).
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (died 1788).
Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York (died 1807). The last of the Stuarts.

GEORGE I.

CHARACTER of the Period and of the Sovereign.[1]—With the Georges, there commences a new epoch in English history: we now enter upon the eighteenth century—the era of the French Revolution; and from the very outset we can trace the causes which led to that terrible rising of the oppressed masses against their tyrants.

"As one views Europe, in the early part of the last

century, the landscape is awful—wretched wastes, beggared and plundered; half-burned cottages, and trembling peasants gathering piteous harvests; gangs of such tramping along with bayonets behind them, and corporals with canes and cats-of-nine-tails to flog them to barracks. By these passes my lord's gilt carriage floundering through the ruts, as he swears at the postillions, and toils on to the Residenz [2]—the enormous, hideous, gilded, monstrous marble palace, where the prince is. Round all that royal splendour lies a nation enslaved and ruined: there are people robbed of their rights, communities laid waste, faith, justice, commerce trampled upon, and well-nigh destroyed—nay, in the very centre of royalty itself, what horrible stains and meanness, crime and shame!" [3]

Throughout the Continent, the monarchical principle[4] had everywhere triumphed after the destruction of the feudal system; the nobility had been overthrown by the crown, and the proudest peers of each realm were ready to perform the most menial services for the sovereign. Although the English Parliament had fought and won the battle of the Commons against the King, yet the influence of this European servility to rulers was very great upon morals, politics, and court life.

To the surprise even of his adherents, George I. succeeded quietly to the throne; and was proclaimed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, without opposition.

The new monarch was a plain, dull, narrow man; honest and faithful, it is true, but without splendid or striking qualities. He never acquired any knowledge of the English language, and Hanover was always more to him than England. But, although a despot in Germany, he was a most moderate ruler in England.

desiring to leave it to itself as much as possible and to live out of it as much as he could.[5]

As George had owed his accession to the Whigs, he placed himself entirely in the hands of that party and excluded the Tories from all share in court favour. Accordingly, disturbances in the cause of the exiled Stuarts took place in various parts of England. So violent did the mobs become, that it was thought necessary to pass the *Riot Act*[6]—empowering the local authorities to disperse all turbulent assemblies.

The 'Fifteen.—The Jacobites were determined to make a great effort to drive out one whom they regarded as a usurper. Accordingly, there took place the rising commonly called the '15, from the year in which it occurred. North of the Grampians, the Earl of Mar gathered together the leading Jacobites as if to a hunting party, and began the insurrection. He speedily had command of the north of Scotland, and despatched southwards a detachment under Brigadier Macintosh, which managed to pass the Forth and then moved on to *Kelso*. Here they were joined by a troop of horse under Lord Kenmure, and a detachment of Englishmen under Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Forster.[7] The plan was to advance into England and continue the revolt there. The Highlanders were with much difficulty persuaded to leave their own country, and the whole party marched south as far as *Preston*. The English Jacobites showed no signs of giving them real aid; and on the 13th November, the royal army[8] surrounded the town. The rebels, badly generalled and badly disciplined, laid down their arms with scarcely any resistance.

On the same day, Argyle, who commanded for the

government in Scotland, encountered Mar at *Sheriffmuir*, near Dunblane, in Perthshire. Mar's left was posted behind a morass; his right swept down on the foe, and drove them on towards Stirling in headlong confusion. When near that town, Mar heard that his left had been routed. Taking advantage of a frost which turned the morass into an excellent road, Argyle had passed over, fallen on the enemy, and put them to flight. Both parties claimed the victory: a famous Scotch song affirmed that both lost it; Mar, however, retreated northward, and Argyle had thus effected his purpose.

In the last days of 1715, when in truth all was over, James landed at *Peterhead*. He established himself at *Scone*, the ancient capital of Scotland, and affected a certain royal state. But he soon found how hopeless was the enterprise. Pale and sad, he was never seen to smile. He came almost like a 'shade' to the kingdom of his ancestors, so little real effect had his presence. Retreating northwards at the end of January, James and Mar embarked at *Montrose*. Their followers immediately dispersed, and the rebellion was at an end.[9]

The South Sea Scheme, 1720.—Five years later, the country was agitated by an extraordinary spirit of commercial speculation. The chief enterprise is known as the *South Sea Scheme* or Bubble, and its results were so disastrous that a full account of it is necessary.

By the Treaty of Utrecht,[10] Spain had conceded to England certain trading privileges. These the government gave as a monopoly to a company, on condition that they should take as capital ten millions of public debt. Thus, instead of having many creditors and paying high interest, the government would owe money only to this company, and that at moderate interest. It was

afterwards proposed that the company should take over the whole debt,[11] which would form South Sea stock.[12] The interest on this payable by the nation was only to be five, and afterwards four per cent.; [13] but the commercial advantages of the scheme would, it was thought, be so great that the shareholders were certain to receive enormous gains. Thus, it was hoped, that the national creditor would be quite willing to become a South Sea shareholder; for though there was less interest to receive from government, there were to be added to it the profits of the company. It seemed an ingenious commercial scheme by which every one concerned would become richer, and no one poorer. The ministers, the directors, and the public believed in it. In six days, two-thirds of the annuitants[14] had agreed to become shareholders in the company, and in five months the £100 share was selling at £1000.

This was not all, for the whole country seemed to be animated by a feverish wish to make fortunes by speculating in shares. Accordingly, numberless companies, somewhat after the model of the South Sea Company, were started. There were companies "For building of ships against pirates," "For importing a number of large jackasses from Spain," "For a wheel for perpetual motion,"[15] and for other objects still more ridiculous. Change Alley was the chief centre of these enterprises, and here the activity was so great that tables were set up in the street. Distinctions of sex, or rank, or politics seemed forgotten by the eager crowd that pressed forward to traffic in shares.

At the height of the excitement, the directors of the South Sea Company prosecuted some of its rivals. This caused people to reflect, and it was at once seen

how absurd many of the schemes were, and how impossible it was for the original company to pay a satisfactory dividend. Like the gold in the fairy tale, which suddenly became a heap of dried leaves, the wealth of

"Distinctions of sex, or rank, or politics, seemed forgotten by the eager crowd that pressed forward to traffic in shares."

thousands resolved itself all at once into a mass of worthless paper.

Absolute distrust now succeeded to universal credulity; and the directors of the South Sea Company, who a few days before were courted as the givers of boundless wealth, were now denounced as "enemies of the people," and their instant execution demanded. So great was the popular rage that, although these men had undoubtedly been themselves deceived, they were imprisoned and all their property confiscated.

Rise of Walpole to Power.—The failure of the South Sea Company and its imitators had plunged thousands into poverty; a national crisis had arisen, and all agreed that one man was marked out by his financial genius to deliver the country. This was *Sir Robert Walpole*, a squire of Norfolk, who had been Secretary of War in the Whig Ministry[16] of Queen's Anne's reign, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first years of George I. He was at this time Paymaster of the Forces, but had not been a member of the ministry when the South Sea Scheme was adopted, and had warned the House of Commons of the dangers of the delusive dream of wealth.

Accordingly, he was called upon to provide a remedy for the wide-spread disorder. His plan was to assign the private property of the directors, two millions in amount, to the sufferers; to remit the money due to government; and, after paying the lawful debts of the company, to divide its assets among the shareholders. As for those who were involved in the other companies, nothing could be done to relieve their distress. Walpole's plan was successfully carried out; and he soon found himself at the head of affairs, and in possession of power which lasted more than twenty years.[17]

The new minister was a plain practical man of somewhat coarse habits; but his financial abilities were of a

very high order, and he had great skill in managing men—understanding thoroughly alike the temper of the House of Commons and of the English people.

Of this rude, fox-hunting minister, a famous English satirist[18] gives us the following account: "But for Sir Robert Walpole, we should have had the Pretender back again. But for his obstinate love of peace, we should have had wars, which the nation was not strong enough nor united enough to endure. But for his resolute counsels and good-humoured resistance, we might have had German despots attempting a Hanoverian regimen over us; we should have had revolt, commotion, want, and tyrannous misrule in place of a quarter of a century of peace, freedom, and material prosperity, such as the country never enjoyed."

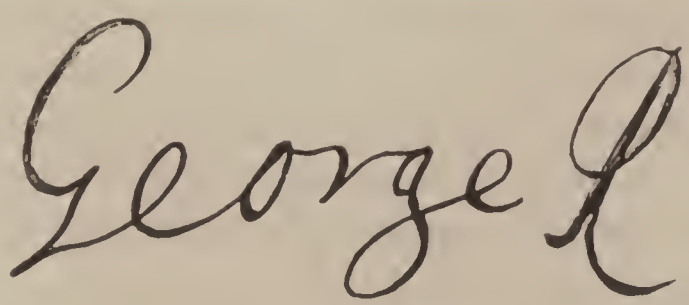
During the rest of this reign, all was well managed. A turmoil in Ireland[19] was checked by a timely submission; while Walpole succeeded in imposing upon Scotland an excise duty upon ale. In the midst of these somewhat commonplace quarrels and difficulties, the king died, on his way to Hanover, June 11, 1727.

No finer summary of the importance of this reign can be given than in the words of the celebrated writer already referred to—words meriting the closest study.

"The days are over in England," he says, "of that strange religion of king-worship, when priests flattered princes in the temple of God; when servility was held to be ennobling duty; while beauty and youth tried eagerly for royal favours. Mended morals and mended manners in courts and people, are among the priceless consequences of the freedom which George I. came to rescue and secure. He kept his compact with his English subjects; and if he escaped no more than other men and

monarchs from the vices of his age, at least we may thank him for preserving and transmitting the liberties of ours. In our free air, royal and humble homes have alike been purified; and Truth, the birthright of high and low among us, which quite fearlessly judges our greatest personages, can only speak of them now in words of respect and regard. There are stains in the portrait of the first George, and traits in it which none of us need admire; but, amongst the nobler features are justice, courage, moderation—and these we may recognise ere we turn the picture to the wall."

1. George I. reigned from 1714 to 1727.
2. **Residenz**, here used as the German name for the palace of a prince.
3. From Thackeray's 'Four Georges.'
4. **Monarchical principle**, maintaining 'the Divine Right of Kings and giving absolute power to the sovereign.
5. See Thackeray's 'Four Georges.'
6. **Riot Act.** This Act, passed in 1715, is still in force. It enacts that, "If any twelve persons are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and any justice of the peace, sheriff, &c., shall think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterwards, such contempt shall be felony, without benefit of clergy."
7. **Mr. Forster**, the Member of Parliament for Northumberland.
8. Led by Generals Carpenter and Wills, who had united their forces.
9. Two peers, Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure, were executed. Lord Nithsdale and others escaped from prison—the former by the courage and devotion of his Countess. Thirty persons of inferior rank were executed. To prevent the agitation arising from frequent elections, the *Triennial* Act was repealed, and a *Septennial* Act passed extending the duration of parliaments to seven years.
10. **Treaty of Utrecht**, which closed the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713. See p. 137.
11. **The whole debt**, about £32,000,000.
12. **Stock**, *i.e.*, capital of the Company, and entitled to share in the profit.
13. Instead of 8 per cent., which the government had been paying.
14. **Annuitants**, *i.e.*, those receiving an *annual* payment from the government for money they had advanced to it.
15. **Wheel for perpetual motion**, *i.e.*, a wheel to move continually without the aid of any *motive force*, such as steam.
16. **Whig Ministry**, formed in 1708. See note 28, page 143.
17. He became First Lord of the Treasury (or, as we should say, Prime Minister) and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
18. Thackeray.
19. **Turmoil in Ireland.** It was about the introduction of a new copper coinage made by a patentee called William Wood. Wood's half-pence were opposed by the famous Swift in his Drapier Letters.



AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE I.

THE MINISTRY OF WALPOLE.[1]

GEORGE II.

ACCESSION and Character of George II.[2]—"On the afternoon of the 14th of June, 1727, two horsemen might have been perceived galloping along the road from Chelsea to Richmond. The foremost, cased in the jackboots[3] of the period, was a broadfaced, jolly-looking, and very corpulent cavalier; but, by the manner in which he urged his horse, you might see that he was a bold as well as a skilful rider.

"He speedily reached Richmond Lodge, and asked to see the owner of the mansion. The mistress of the house and her ladies, to whom our friend was admitted, said he could not be introduced to the master, however pressing the business might be. The master was asleep after his dinner; he always slept after his dinner: and woe be to the person who interrupted him! Nevertheless, our stout friend of the jackboots put the affrighted ladies aside, opened the forbidden door of the bedroom, wherein upon the bed lay a little gentleman, and here the eager messenger knelt down in his jackboots.

"He on the bed started up, and with many oaths and a strong German accent asked who was there, and who dared to disturb him?

"'I am Sir Robert Walpole,' said the messenger.

The awakened sleeper hated Sir Robert Walpole. 'I have the honour to announce to your Majesty that your royal father, King George I., died at Osnaburg,[4] on Saturday last, the 10th inst.'

"'*Dat is one big lie!*' roared out his sacred Majesty, King George II.; but Sir Robert Walpole stated the fact, and from that day until three and thirty years after, George, the second of the name, ruled over England."

The new king was a hot-tempered man of small stature but brave heart, who had been long at enmity with his father, and had detested the prudent minister who had served that monarch so faithfully. But now, no doubt influenced by his clever and devoted wife,[5] he shrewdly reconciled himself to the bold minister who worked as wisely and devotedly for him as he had done for his predecessor—proving himself a courageous lover of peace and liberty, a true patriot, and great statesman.

George II. was a sort of transition king; more of an Englishman than his father, but very much less so than his grandson and successor. He was now forty-four; and, while being most methodical, was very greedy and narrow-minded. "I do not believe," says Lord Hervey, "there ever lived a man to whose temper benevolence was so absolutely a stranger."[6]

This king had no taste for literature or the fine arts, and cared little for English interests; for, as with his father, Hanover was first and England only second. One great merit he had; he allowed himself to be guided by those whom he recognised as his superiors, and followed the counsels of his wise queen. This able princess gave Walpole a strong support; and constantly promoted men of learning in the Church and

men of ability in the State, so that her influence was most beneficial both to her husband and the nation.

Walpole's Home Policy.—Walpole had undoubtedly learned the great lessons of the Revolution of 1688, and sought to preserve alike the Hanoverian succession and the liberty of the people. He saw clearly that England must keep clear of war so as to give her enemies no pretext for supporting the exiled House of Stuart; and that the best policy was to develop her industries and commerce, until Britain should become so strong that her united and prosperous people would neither desire a change of dynasty nor fear a foreign foe.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

His first important measure was a great financial improvement. Unfortunately it was a generation in advance of the age,[7] and he was compelled by overwhelming opposition to withdraw it. The plan was known as his '*Excise Scheme*,' and involved an important change in the mode of collecting the revenue.

At that time, smuggling was very common, and thus the revenue suffered great loss. To prevent this wholesale fraud, the great financier[8] proposed to collect the duties on wine and tobacco from the retailers, and not from the importers—to change, in other words, a customs into an excise duty.[9] This was only one part of his great scheme. He also proposed to establish large

warehouses[10] in London, where merchants could store their goods without paying duty until such goods had actually been sold to their customers. This plan was admirably fitted to encourage foreign trade, especially as, if foreign goods were re-exported, no duty was to be paid on them. This would have made London a free port[11] for the whole of Europe, and have enormously increased its rapidly growing wealth. Further, the larger revenue, obtained without any addition to the national burden, would enable Walpole to reduce the land tax, and thus make the country gentlemen more loyal.

The first part of this great scheme was bitterly opposed. A financial inquisition was, it was said, about to be set up; and an Englishman's house would no longer be his castle, for the exciseman could enter it at any time. It was a plot, said the opposition,[12] to overthrow our ancient constitution and to establish in its place a baleful tyranny. In vain Walpole proved that these objections were void of truth; but he soon saw that armed force would be necessary to carry out his plan. "I will not be the minister," he nobly said, "to enforce taxes at the price of blood." He accordingly withdrew the measure,[13] thus recognising, that, in a constitutional government, to do good to the nation against its will is both impolitic and hurtful.

Walpole's skill was next successfully exerted to keep the nation from being involved in the general European war which began in a dispute about the succession to the crown of Poland.[14] But though England was at peace, the peace-minister was not the stronger. Several causes combined against him. The Prince of Wales[15] married in 1737, and his demand for an increased allowance embittered the quarrel, already of

some standing, between him and the king. The friends of the Prince brought forward the matter in parliament, and Walpole was obliged to oppose them. He did so successfully; but the heir to the throne became his bitter enemy and the centre of the opposition. The Queen died in the same year; and, as she had been his constant friend, it was thought that this would end his power; but his ruin came from another quarter.

The Spanish War: Fall of Walpole.—For many years the trade with the Spanish Colonies of South America [16] had been a fruitful source of quarrels between England and Spain. By treaty the English were allowed to engage in the slave trade, and also to send one ship yearly; but it was impossible to restrain British mercantile enterprise within these narrow bounds. The annual ship became the centre of a fleet, which supplied it with a new cargo as fast as the old one was unloaded; and there was, besides, a great deal of smuggling along the whole American coast. On the other hand, the right of search which the Spanish officers possessed was often tyrannically exercised; stories of harsh injustice were frequent; and, when redress was demanded, the delays of the Spanish government seemed to show a determination to refuse justice.

A final collision was inevitable. South America was then the gold-producing country of the world. The profits of its trade were very large; and whilst the English were resolved to participate in them, the Spaniards were determined to keep them for themselves.

Still Walpole strove hard to maintain peace. Although the king and his own colleagues were in favour of war, he was able to arrange a convention with Spain,[17] by which that country undertook to pay £95,000 in full of

all claims. This arrangement was very unpopular and was bitterly opposed in Parliament. Walpole was now accused of surrendering the honour of England; and

"Anson returned with only one ship out of the six which started."

a few months afterwards, rather than give up office, he yielded to the popular clamour and declared war.[18]

For the succeeding two years Walpole struggled hard to maintain his place, but the war was on the whole unsuccessful. During it, however, Anson set out on a romantic voyage round the world.[19] He returned after an absence of four years with only one ship out of the six which started, but with a large amount of treasure. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello,[20] but completely failed before Cartagena.[21]

At length Walpole was finally forced to resign,[22] and retired from power with a large pension and the title of Earl of Orford. The most violent of his opponents clamoured for his impeachment and even his execution, but it was found that in the state of parties nothing effective could be done. Still his political ruin was complete, and his name does not again appear in history.

1. **Ministry of Walpole,** lasted till 1742; it was in every respect a peace-ministry.
2. **George II.,** reigned from 1727 to 1760. His greatest ministers were Walpole and the elder Pitt.
3. **Jackboots,** properly *boots* to be worn along with a *jack* or *coat of mail;* large boots reaching above the knee, to protect the legs.
4. **Osnaburg,** near the river Ems, in the south of Hanover in North Germany.
5. Caroline of Anspach—"one of the truest and fondest wives ever prince was blessed with, and who loved him and was faithful to him, and he, in his coarse fashion, loved her to the last." She died in 1737.
6. From Lord Hervey's 'Memoirs of the Reign of George II., from his Accession to the death of Queen Caroline (1727 to 1737).'
7. Walpole's measure was introduced in 1733; its leading ideas were afterwards clearly taught by Adam Smith in his famous book, the Wealth of Nations, published in 1776.
8. **Financier,** one skilled in administering the revenue of a state.
9. **Customs and Excise Duty.** See note 5, p. 105.
10. **Warehouses,** called *bonded* warehouses.
11. **A Free Port,** *i.e.*, one where trade could be carried on without the payment of customs duties.
12. **The Opposition,** *i.e.*, the party in Parliament —Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative, as the case may be—*opposed* to the ministry of the day.
13. Although Walpole had submitted to the external opposition which his Excise Bill had caused, he did not submit to the opposition which certain members of his own cabinet had offered to the measure. All those, among whom Lord Chesterfield was the chief, were ignominiously expelled; and, as was to be expected, they at once joined the ranks of the continually increasing opposition.
14. **Crown of Poland.** The king of Poland was *elected* by the great nobles of that country. On this occasion Augustus, son of the late king, obtained the throne; and a war of France and Spain against the Empire of Germany ensued.
15. **The Prince of Wales,** Frederick, a worthless prince, the father of George III.
16. **Spanish Colonies of South America,** principally in the West Indies, and on the northern shores of South America.
17. 14th January 1739.
18. 17th October 1739.
19. **Voyage round the World.** Anson set sail in 1740. He did not return till June 1744, two years after the fall of Walpole.
20. **Porto Bello,** a strong port on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama.
21. **Cartagena,** a fortified seaport in New Granada, in South America, seventy miles south-west of the mouth of the river Magdalena.
22. Walpole resigned in 1742, having been in power for nearly twenty-two years.

THE LAST JACOBITE RISING.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

THE European War which led to the Rising.—After the fall of Walpole, the dangers against which that statesman had so carefully guarded began to threaten both the country and the throne. The conflict with Spain proved the beginning of a great European war, which, in its turn, was the prelude to a dangerous Jacobite rising. In the first of these, England aided Austria against the united forces of France, Spain, and Prussia. These three powers sought to overturn the Decree[1] by which the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany had bequeathed his hereditary dominions[2] to his daughter, Maria Theresa.

England steadily supported[3] Austria, and sent an army to the continent. The two chief battles in which the English were concerned were *Dettingen*[4] and *Fontenoy*.[5] In the first of these George commanded in person, and his bravery did much to secure the victory for the English. This was the last battle in which an English king appeared on the field, and never had the part of personal leader been better sustained. At Fontenoy, Marshal Saxe defeated the Duke of Cumberland, but the battle brought no advantage to the victors. The war was closed by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*,[6] by which the rights of Maria Theresa were admitted.

In this war, England once more began to show that naval superiority which had rendered her so renowned under the Commonwealth. The two great victories of *Cape Finisterre* and *Belleisle*,[7] in both of which the French fleet was totally defeated, pointed onwards to the still greater triumphs of the following reign.

The enemies of the country naturally sought to weaken the strength of her arms abroad by exciting a rebellion at home; and thus, as Walpole had predicted, the entrance of England into a European war was the cause of a great rising in favour of the exiled Stuarts.

'The Young Chevalier.'[8]—On the 25th July, 1745, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, grandson of James II., and often called the 'Young Pretender,' landed on the coast of the West Highlands with seven companions,[9] and began a movement which shook the Hanoverian dynasty. The Young Chevalier came like a hero of romance to "claim," as he said, "the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt."

The Highland chiefs urged him to defer his project, but he was not to be persuaded. By passionate entreaties and bitter complainings, he moved the hearts and roused the pride of the chieftains; and in less than a month, the Stuart standard was solemnly hoisted at Glenfinnan.[10] The Jacobites had already gained their first success in a slight skirmish.[11] Charles saw his attempt fairly started, and with a rapidly increasing army he crossed the Firth of Forth and captured Edinburgh. There was hardly a show of resistance; the populace crowded round his horse, and many wept for joy. Holyrood,[12] so long deserted, became again a royal palace; and the gallant bearing and youthful enthusiasm of Charles were made all the more striking by the faded splendour that surrounded him.

HOISTING THE STANDARD.

A distinguished historian has thus described this prince: "View him in his later years, and we behold the ruins of intemperance—his understanding debased, and his temper soured. But not such was the Charles Stuart of 1745. Not such was the gallant Prince full of youth, of hope, of courage, who, landing with seven men in the wilds of Moidart, could rally a kingdom

HOLYROOD PALACE.

round his banner, and scatter his foes before him at Preston and Falkirk. Not such was the gay and courtly host of Holyrood. Not such was he, whose endurance of fatigue and eagerness for battle shone pre-eminent, even amongst Highland chiefs; while fairer critics [13] proclaimed him the most winning in conversation, the most graceful in the dance!" [14]

A Career of Victory.—The royal forces in Scotland were at this time under the command of a plain, dull man, Sir John Cope—a general quite unable to encounter such foes as the Highlanders. It never entered the head of Sir John that the Prince would dare to march southward; and, accordingly, he sought to cut off all chance of retreat northwards by marching towards Inverness. When he found out his mistake, he was forced to sail southwards, and landed at Dunbar on the very day

that Charles entered Edinburgh.[15] He thus held the eastern road to England, and a battle was inevitable.

The two armies met a few miles from Edinburgh, near *Prestonpans*,[16] one of those fishing villages that dot the edge of the Firth of Forth. Cope had taken up a strong position—having a morass in front, his cavalry on each flank, and the sea behind him. On the other side

EDINBURGH.

of the marsh lay the Highland army, with its back to the hills. During the night a path across the morass was discovered by the eager Highlanders, and they passed over in the faint light of a misty morning. Cope soon discovered their new position, and made preparations to receive them. He had not long to wait. The order to charge was given, the pipers repeated the signal, and the slogan[17] of the clans pealed forth as the Highlanders rushed on the foe. The dragoons did not wait for their charge, but fled at once; some of the artillerymen were cut down at their guns, others saved their lives by flight; the infantry alone made some attempt at resistance, but their line was broken through in several places, and they too fled. In five minutes the battle was over; and when Sir John appeared two days afterwards in Berwick with a

few horsemen, he was sarcastically complimented "on being the first general on record who had carried the news of his own defeat."

Scotland was now won, and had Prince Charles been able to march at once on London, England might likewise have been gained. But this was impossible. A large number of his soldiers had gone home to deposit their plunder in safety, and he was obliged to wait for their return. Accordingly, it was not till the 8th of November, that he entered England; and, by that time, three armies had gathered to oppose him. One, under Marshal Wade, was in the north of England; a second, under the Duke of Cumberland, lay in the Midland Counties; while a third, chiefly composed of the London train-bands, guarded the metropolis. Notwithstanding this, Charles crossed the border, took *Carlisle*, evaded the English armies, and marched unopposed to *Derby*, within 130 miles of the capital.

Had he pushed on, it seems certain that London would have fallen, for the army that guarded it was the weakest of the three. The chiefs, however, pointed out that the English Jacobites had not joined them, that they were but 5000, while their enemies numbered 30,000, and that their retreat might be cut off. Accordingly, they forced Charles, though much against his will, to return.[18]

The march back was rapid; and, after a few days' halt at Glasgow, Charles proceeded to besiege the Castle of Stirling. General Hawley marched to relieve it; and the two armies met at *Falkirk*,[19] in the midst of a storm, which blew right in the faces of the English soldiers. The charge of the Highlanders was again successful, though a small party withstood it and were able to cover

the retreat of the royal army. The Duke of Cumberland [20]—a brave and able, though cruel general—now took the command, and marched northwards after Charles, who had fallen back on Inverness.

The Battle of Culloden: Wanderings of Prince Charlie.—The last battle of the insurrection was fought on the barren Culloden Moor.[21] The Highlanders had intended to make a night attack, but the day was breaking before they reached the enemy's outposts. They were therefore obliged to fall back to the moor, whither their pursuers followed them. The Duke of Cumberland had drawn up his army in three lines, interspersed with cannon.

The combat began with some firing, by which the rebels suffered greatly. At last they received the order to charge; and, tired as they were, they yet advanced with such force that they broke the first line and captured some cannon. But they were then received with a volley from the second line; and, while they were still in disorder, the enemy charged. The Highlanders paused, then fled, and the battle was over.

The prince was hurried away by some friends, and the cause of the House of Stuart was lost for ever. There was no other attempt at armed resistance, and nothing now remained but to take vengeance on the defeated rebels. This was done so cruelly that Cumberland received ever afterwards the name of 'The Butcher.'

Charles wandered for five months in the Highlands. A price of £30,000 was set on his head; but though this represented incalculable wealth to the poor inhabitants of these desolate regions, no one was found to betray him. He had many romantic adventures, but at last escaped to France. By a strange coincidence he left

Scotland at the very place where he had landed [22] fourteen months before.

Effects of the Rising.—Thus ended the '45, and with it Jacobitism, which now became but a sentiment. The Hanoverian succession was henceforth secure; no further attempt was made against it. The hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was now destroyed, and many measures were taken to assimilate the Highlands to the rest of Britain. These were successful; and thus the ultimate results of the last Stuart rising were not unfavourable even to the northern portion of the kingdom. From this period the prosperity of modern Scotland may be said to date. The spirit-stirring Jacobite songs and tales of the rising have thrown a halo of romance round the '45; and it may truly be asserted that the simple narrative of the facts presents incidents as remarkable as any fabled in song or story.

1. *I.e.*, **the Imperial Decree,** called the *Pragmatic Sanction*,—the *special or official decree* issued by the Emperor.
2. **Hereditary Dominions.** The Emperor of Germany had always to be chosen by the various 'electors;' but Charles VI. was also ruler of Austria, and it was his *hereditary* dominions alone that he wished to secure to his daughter.
3. The war cost England £54,000,000.
4. **Dettingen,** a small village in Bavaria, on the Main, south-east of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The battle was fought in 1743.
5. **Fontenoy,** a village in Belgium close to the French frontier, five miles south-east of Tournay. The battle took place in 1745.
6. **Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,** made in 1748. The town of Aix-la-Chapelle is in Rhenish Prussia near the Belgian frontier.
7. **Cape Finisterre and Belleisle,** both fought in 1747. The former, in the north-west of Spain, was won by Anson; the latter, in the north-west of France, by Hawke.
8. **The Young Chevalier,** the name given to Prince Charles Edward.
9. **Seven Companions,** known as the 'Seven Men of Moidart,' from the Loch of that name on the west coast of Inverness-shire where he landed.
10. **Glenfinnan,** north-west of Loch Moidart, crossing from Argyleshire to Inverness-shire. The Standard was raised on August 19th, 1745.
11. They had captured two companies sent from Fort Augustus to strengthen the garrison at Fort William.
12. **Holyrood,** in Edinburgh, the ancient royal palace of Scotland.
13. The favourite name of this prince in Scotland to this day is '*Bonnie Prince Charlie.*'
14. From Lord Mahon's (afterwards, Earl Stanhope) History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1713-1783)—a work deservedly praised by Thackeray.
15. 17th September 1745.
16. **Prestonpans.** The battle was fought on September 21st, 1745.
17. **Slogan,** literally '*an army-cry,*' the *war-cry* of the old Highlanders of Scotland.
18. The retreat from Derby was begun on the 6th of December 1745.
19. **Falkirk,** in the east of Stirlingshire. The battle was fought January 17th, 1746.
20. **Duke of Cumberland,** the second son of George II.
21. **Culloden Moor,** in the west of Nairnshire, 12 miles east of Inverness.
22. He left on 20th September 1746.

CHARLES EDWARD AT VERSAILLES[1] ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF CULLODEN.

TAKE away that star and garter—hide them from my aching sight;
Neither king nor prince shall tempt me from my lonely room this night.
Let the shadows gather round me while I sit in silence here,
Broken-hearted, as an orphan walking by his father's bier.
Let me hold my still communion far from every earthly sound—
Day of penance—day of passion[2]—ever, as the year comes round:
Fatal day! wherein the latest die was cast for me and mine—
Cruel day! that quelled the fortunes of the hapless Stuart line.

Phantom-like, as in a mirror, rise the grisly scenes of death—
There, before me, in its wildness, stretches bare Culloden's heath.
There the broken clans are scattered, gaunt as wolves, and famine-eyed,
Hunger gnawing at their vitals, hope abandoned, all but pride.
There they stand, the battered columns, underneath the murky sky,
In the hush of desperation, not to conquer, but to die.
Hark the bagpipe's fitful wailing: not the pibroch[3] loud and shrill,
That with hope of bloody banquet, lured the ravens from the hill,—
But a dirge both low and solemn, fit for ears of dying men,
Marshalled for their latest battle, never more to fight again.

Madness—madness! Why this shrinking? Were we less inured to war
When our reapers swept the harvest from the field of red Dunbar?[4]
Bring my horse, and blow the trumpet! Call the riders of Fitz-James!
Let Lord Lewis head the column! valiant chiefs of mighty names—
Trusty Keppoch! stout Glengarry! gallant Gordon! wise Lochiel![5]
Bid the clansmen hold together, fast and fell, and firm as steel.
Elcho! never look so gloomy; what avails a saddened brow?
Heart, man! heart!—we need it sorely, never half so much as now.
Had we but a thousand troopers, had we but a thousand more!
Noble Perth, I hear them coming!—Hark the English cannon's roar.

Ah, how awful sounds that volley, bellowing through the mist and rain!
Was not that the Highland slogan?[6] Let me hear that shout again!
Oh, for prophet eyes to witness how the desperate battle goes!
Cumberland! I would not fear thee, could my Camerons see their foes.
Sound, I say, the charge at venture—'tis not naked steel we fear:
Better perish in the mêlée[7] than be shot like driven deer.[8]
Hold! the mist begins to scatter! there in front 'tis rent asunder,
And the cloudy bastion[9] crumbles underneath the deafening thunder,
Chief and vassal, lord and yeoman, there they lie in heaps together.
Smitten by the deadly volley, rolled in blood upon the heather.
And the Hanoverian horsemen fiercely riding to and fro,
Deal their murderous strokes at random—Woe is me! Where am I now?[10]

Will that baleful vision never vanish from my aching sight?
Must those scenes and sounds of terror haunt me still by day and night?
Yes, the earth hath no oblivion for the noblest chance it gave,
None, save in its latest refuge—seek it only in the grave!
Love may die, and hatred slumber, and their memory will decay,
As the watered garden recks not of the drought of yesterday;
But the dream of power once broken, what shall give repose again?
What shall chain the serpent-furies[11] coiled around the maddening brain?
What kind draught can Nature offer strong enough to lull their sting?
Better to be born a peasant than to live an exiled king!

AYTOUN.[12]

1. **Versailles**, a palace near Paris.
2. **Passion**, here used in its original sense of '*suffering*.'
3. **Pibroch**, literally '*pipe-music*,' the martial music of the Scottish bagpipe.
4. **Dunbar.** The poet refers to the battle of Prestonpans. It was at Dunbar that Sir John Cope landed, four days before the battle.
5. These are the names of famous Highland Chiefs.
6. **Slogan**, see note 17, p. 168.
7. **Mêlée**, a fight in which the combatants are all mixed together.
8. **Driven deer**, *i.e.*, deer driven by the beaters towards some appointed spot where the sportsmen or hunters are ready to shoot them down.
9. **Cloudy Bastion**, *i.e.*, the dense masses of mist, like *towers* in the sky.
10. The poet pictures the prince as carried away by the memory of the dreadful scene of slaughter. He then comes to himself; and, finding himself in his lonely room, he cries, 'Woe is me! where am I now?'
11. **Serpent-furies.** The Greeks, and after them the Latins, believed that there were three goddesses of *vengeance* called the Furies. They pictured them as having wreaths of snakes on their heads instead of hair.
12. **Aytoun**, see note 7, p. 73. From his 'Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.'

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ELDER PITT.

WILLIAM PITT.

RISE and Character of Pitt.—William Pitt, one of the greatest ministers that ever directed the fortunes of his country, was born in the year 1708.[1] He was educated at Eton and Oxford; and, after a short service in the army as a cornet in the Blues, he entered Parliament in 1735. There he at once joined the opposition to Walpole, and his powers as an orator were first shown in a speech condemning the convention that minister had made with Spain.[2] Throughout the whole of his early parliamentary career he acted as an English patriot, insisting that the blood and treasure of the nation should not be wasted in support of the German principality of Hanover. He thus earned the bitter hostility of the king; but, in spite of this, he forced his way upwards—until, in 1757, he became Chief Secretary of State, with the management of Foreign affairs.[3]

No more striking portrait has been handed down of any historical character than that afterwards drawn of this great statesman by one of the most brilliant orators[4] of the next reign. "His august mind overawed majesty;[5] and one of his sovereigns thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority.[6] No

state chicanery,[7] no narrow system of vicious politics, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but, overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the House of Bourbon,[8] and wielded in the other the Democracy of England.[9] His schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity."

Such was the marvellous genius who was now to direct the foreign affairs of England.

The Seven Years' War.[10]—The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle[11] had been concluded, not because the combatants had come to any real agreement, but because they required rest before recommencing the struggle. France and England had been since then nominally at peace; but in *India* they were engaged in a series of intrigues with the native powers against each other, whilst in *America* a colonial war between the two nations had arisen. Before war was formally declared, the French took Minorca.[12] The loss of the island so deeply wounded the national pride that the British commander, Admiral Byng, was brought to trial and shot, although Pitt made strenuous efforts to save him and the very court-martial that condemned him had unanimously recommended him to mercy.

At first the war did not go well; England suffered defeat both on the coast of France and in America, whilst her allies were beaten on the continent.

These reverses were suffered before Pitt's influence had made itself fully felt; but he soon introduced a new element both into political life and into all departments of the public service. Acting on a principle the reverse of Walpole's, he constantly

appealed to the higher motives which influence human nature, declining the emoluments of the offices which he held and refusing to have anything to do with the disposal of government patronage.

Pitt's soaring ambition led him to turn away from the humble but useful details of domestic legislation to the wider theatre of foreign affairs. It was in the direction of great armaments in every part of the world, in the formation of great confederacies, in the planning of striking expeditions, that he was most at home. He was emphatically *a war-minister*, and the whole service was animated with his spirit.

At no time do the annals of England present so many cases of splendid daring, and the early misadventures of the war were soon succeeded by brilliant successes. Expeditions to *Cherbourg*[13] and *St. Malo*[14] damaged the French arsenals, the victories of *Lagos*[15] and *Quiberon*[16] destroyed their fleet. In *America*, Quebec was captured and Canada became an English province; while, *in the east*, the broad foundations of an Anglo-Indian empire were laid by Clive. Victory succeeded victory so regularly that a wit of the time[17] said it was necessary to ask each morning what new conquest there was, as there was danger that you would lose the reckoning.

India and Clive.—Of all these successes, the most important in their results to England were the victories of Clive in India, and the capture of Quebec by Wolfe.

Of the former of these triumphs, but a word can be said here. The question to be decided there was whether India was to be under the rule of France or to become a province of Britain; and it was the genius of Robert Clive which decided that the destinies of the mighty

Asiatic peninsula were to be thenceforward guided by England. His first victory was that of *Arcot;*[18] after which his capture of the *Fort of St. David,* near Madras, gave Britain the entire command of the east coast of India.[19] But the battle which really secured for Britain the Empire of India was that of *Plassey.*[20] In this momentous encounter, Clive, with a force of three thousand[21] men, totally defeated an enormous Indian army of sixty thousand, under the notorious Surajah Dowlah, the cruel Nabob[22] of Bengal, and thus obtained possession of the entire north-east of Hindostan.

CLIVE.

Wolfe and Quebec.—Not less remarkable was the heroic achievement of the gallant Wolfe. Pitt had formed a daring scheme to subdue Canada,—a scheme so bold that only its success justified it. Three armies were to reach the St. Lawrence by different routes, and converge on Quebec, which stands on that river about a hundred leagues from its mouth. Here the stream narrows considerably, and is about a mile broad.

The army under Wolfe was the only one that arrived before the fortress; and just before the battle it was posted on the south side of the river, opposite to and a little above the town, which was defended by a French army under the Marquis de Montcalm. The Heights of Abraham, believed to be inaccessible,

rose from the water above the town, and Wolfe conceived the idea of scaling the precipice and forcing the enemy to give battle on equal terms. Accordingly, at one o'clock in the morning,[23] the expedition embarked. The night was dark and the ebbing tide carried the boats silently down the river to the spot on the Quebec bank afterwards known as Wolfe's Cove. Here the brave band landed, and scrambled up the cliffs by a road so narrow that sometimes only one was able to pass at once. The top was at last reached; and the boats rowed back for the rest of the army, who also succeeded in crossing.

WOLFE.

When the day broke, the British had secured possession of the Heights; but long ere this, the French had discovered them (though too late to arrest their progress); and, advancing to give battle, were received with a close and deadly fire. As they swerved, Wolfe, who, though wounded, still held the command, ordered a charge. The enemy gave way, but Wolfe was carried dying to the rear. His last request was to know how the battle went, and his last words were words of gladness for the victory. The fate, though not the fortune, of the French leader was like that of his opponent. He was mortally wounded in the engagement, and died the day after the battle.

"So much the better," he said, when told of his approaching death; "then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Four days later the town surrendered. A monument was afterwards raised to commemorate the capture, and on it were inscribed the names of Wolfe and Montcalm.

Such were the men and the scenes that made the administration of Pitt so illustrious, and rendered the last years of George II. so noteworthy in our annals. That king died on the 25th October, 1760, and the accession of his successor again made a new period in English history.

1. At Boconnoc, in Cornwall.
2. **Convention with Spain.** See p. 158.
3. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, and the elder Fox Paymaster of the Forces; but the leading spirit of the ministry was Pitt.
4. The famous Henry Grattan (1750-1820), the eloquent leader of the Irish national party, a vehement opposer of the union of the English and Irish Parliaments, and the unwearied champion of Catholic emancipation.
5. **Overawed majesty,** *i.e.*, forced the king, in spite of his dislike, to consent to his measures.
6. This might have been said of both George II. and George III.
7. **Chicanery,** trickery or artifice.
8. **House of Bourbon,** the royal family of France since the time of the famous Henry of Navarre (1576); it succeeded the House of Valois.
9. **The Democracy of England,** *i.e.*, the masses of the *people*, who enthusiastically supported Pitt.
10. **Seven Years' War,** 1756-1763, extended into the next reign.
11. See page 164.
12. **Minorca** was taken by the French in 1756. The island had been left in the hands of Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.
13. **Cherbourg,** near Cape La Hogue, in the north of France, destroyed by General Bligh and Commodore Hawke in 1758.
14. **St. Malo,** attacked in the same year and by the same leaders as Cherbourg, but was too strong to be destroyed.
15. **Lagos,** a port and cape in the south of Portugal. The victory was won in 1759—*a year full of glory.*
16. **Quiberon,** in the north-west of France. This victory was also gained in 1759.
17. **A wit of the time,** Horace Walpole. He lived from 1717-1797, and his chief work is his 'Memoirs of the Court of George II.'
18. **Arcot,** 64 miles south-west of Madras, taken in 1746.
19. *I.e.*, of the district called the Carnatic, a division of India about 90 miles broad, lying along the east coast.
20. **Plassey,** a village in Bengal, on a branch of the Hooghly, above Calcutta. The battle took place on June 23, 1757.
21. Of which 800 only were British.
22. **Nabob,** a *deputy* or governor of a province under the Mogul Empire of India. By his victory, Clive punished the tyrant Surajah Dowlah for the cruel massacre known as the *Black Hole of Calcutta.* In the year 1756, the nabob had ordered 146 English prisoners to be crushed into a cell 20 feet square, with only two small apertures for air. One hundred and twenty-three of the miserable victims perished during the night.
23. 13th September 1759.

A TRULY ENGLISH KING.

TABLE SHOWING THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

GEORGE I.=Sophia of Brunswick.

GEORGE II. — Sophia=Frederick William of Prussia.

Frederick=Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. (d. 1751). — Frederick the Great.

GEORGE III.=Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz.

GEORGE IV.=Caroline of Brunswick. — Charlotte (died 1817).

Frederick, Duke of York (died 1827).

WILLIAM IV.

Charlotte Elizabeth.

Edward, Duke of Kent=Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. — QUEEN VICTORIA.

Ernest, King of Hanover (d. 1851).

Augustus, Duke of Sussex (d. 1843).

Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge. — George. Sophia. Amelia.

GEORGE III.

CHARACTER and Accession of George III.—The new king was thoroughly English in tastes and sympathies. Unlike the two preceding monarchs, who had been obliged to leave everything to their ministers, George III. was determined to direct the government himself, and thus a knowledge of his personal character is essential to a right understanding of the history of the period.

The virtues of this prince were of the decorous and domestic kind. He was simple, pious, and brave, fond of a country life, and devoted to farming pursuits.

Accordingly the court was thoroughly reformed; and the royal household became a model to every family in the kingdom. Such virtues appealed to the great mass of Englishmen, and made 'Farmer George' (as he was called) the most popular man in the kingdom; while the knowledge of his quiet domestic happiness, his simple piety, and his God-fearing humility of heart, was of incalculable benefit in elevating the morals and purifying the life of the whole nation.

As he was determined to 'be a king,'[1] he preferred ministers who would simply carry out his wishes; and accordingly he had a habitual dread of men of marked ability, while his obstinacy was so great that there seems to have been something in it of the madness which for so long a period of his reign doomed him to a living death.[2] But in spite of his limited understanding, he always strove, with a courage which nothing could dismay, *to do what he thought to be right;* unfortunately, he could not understand how people could differ from him and yet be as righteous and noble as himself. It was this narrow and bigoted confidence in his own opinion that led to the revolt of the American colonies, and brought bitter humiliation upon the mother-country.

Policy of the King: Close of the Seven Years' War.—The king's first object was naturally to get a subservient ministry; and he wished above all to introduce into the Cabinet Lord Bute, the favourite of the Princess Dowager, and with whom he was in thorough accord. Accordingly, with the help of Pitt's colleagues, who had been alienated by that great leader's imperiousness of will, Bute was made a Secretary of State,[3] and enabled virtually to direct the policy of the government.

The aim of the favourite was to terminate the war

and dismiss the minister who had brought such glory to the name of England. The arguments in favour of the first of these measures were strong. Great and glorious as that war had been, it was yet costly and dangerous. The country was heavily burdened, and the national debt was rapidly increasing.[4] The glory of to-day was thus the burden of to-morrow.

Meanwhile France and Spain had entered into an alliance;[5] and the latter country was only waiting to get the treasure ships from America safe into port before joining in the conflict. Pitt wisely urged his colleagues to declare war against her at once; but they refused, and accordingly he resigned.[6]

Bute was now supreme in the Cabinet; but the year was hardly over before, as Pitt had predicted, he was obliged to declare war against Spain. Happily, although the great war-minister was gone, his generals remained, and the spirit with which he had inspired them was still active. Expeditions against Martinique,[7] Havannah,[8] and the Philippine Islands,[9] were all successful; and France again became eager for peace. Bute was not less eager, and the seven years' war was concluded by the Peace of Paris.[10]

England was a great gainer by this treaty; she was henceforth to possess North America and a number of the West India Islands which she had taken; while the French gave up Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, and renounced their military establishments in India.

Bute soon afterwards resigned, for there were many things which made his position uncomfortable. Personally, he was inclined to a studious life; was incompetent to control the destinies of a mighty empire; and was hated as few men in England have ever been hated.

Parliamentary Struggle: John Wilkes.—The summer of 1763 is remarkable for the beginning of a curious and prolonged constitutional struggle, which is of great importance in the history of parliamentary government. This was the case of John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury. This man had a paper called the *North Briton*, in which he had heaped unmeasured abuse upon the hated Bute. Not content with this, he had in one number[11] attacked the king himself—declaring that he had uttered *a lie* in his speech from the throne at the prorogation of Parliament. The authorities then proceeded against the paper, first, by the issue of a *general warrant*, in which no special individuals were mentioned; and under it Wilkes was seized, along with forty-eight others. He resisted, and the matter was at once brought before the law courts, where it was declared that such *general warrants were illegal.*[12]

The House of Commons foolishly did not let the matter rest here; but, full of rather noisy loyalty, declared that what Wilkes had written was a false and seditious libel. They also *expelled him from the House*, and decided that privilege[13] was no protection from punishment for publishing such articles.

Five years afterwards, Wilkes was chosen member for Middlesex,[14] after an election of indescribable fury, in which 'Wilkes and Liberty' were the popular watchwords. The honoured number '45'[15] was written on every house, and London was illuminated for two nights at the command of the mob. The populace espoused the cause of Wilkes as a protest against *parliamentary corruption*, a *sham representation*,[16] and *acts really despotic committed in the name of liberty.* The ministers would now have yielded and allowed Wilkes to take

his seat, but the king determined with his usual obstinacy that the battle should be fought out, and Wilkes was sentenced to twenty-two months' imprisonment.

From his prison he did everything he could to excite the mob. His last offence had been followed by a riot in which blood had been spilt, and he charged the ministry with "having deliberately planned the horrid massacre of St. George's Fields." The House con-

"WILKES AND LIBERTY."

sidered this, and again expelled him. A fortnight later he was re-elected, and *next day* declared incapable of sitting in that Parliament. But the country was as determined as Parliament; and, on March 16, Wilkes was re-elected, no one coming forward to second his opponent. Next day the House declared the election void.[17] At the subsequent election, Colonel Luttrell was

brought forward to oppose him. It was considered that this gentleman was very daring in doing so, but he got nearly one-fourth of the votes, and Parliament declared that he was the member. In the end, the country triumphed, for four years later Wilkes was once more elected for Middlesex, and allowed to take his seat without opposition. Eight years afterwards, the House of Commons expunged the orders regarding his elections from their journals, and thus admitted themselves in the wrong in this great constitutional controversy.

The struggle on behalf of Wilkes showed the power of popular agitation. A great impetus was also given to the two other important questions. One was the demand for Parliamentary reform, which was checked by the outbreak of the French revolution; the other was the claim that the press should be allowed to report the debates of the House of Commons. This last point was carried first; and, the weight of public opinion being thus brought to bear with increasing force on the House, bribery became a thing of the past.

1. **'To be a king.'** The last words of his mother to him, on the night before her death, were, '*George, be a king!*'
2. In his later years, George was subject to attacks of insanity. The country was governed after 1810 by his son as Regent. The extract is from Thackeray's 'George the Third.'
3. This took place in March 1761. Lord Holderness resigned to make room for the favourite.
4. **The National Debt.** Up to this time the national debt had increased as follows:—(1.) At Anne's accession it had amounted to £14,000,000. (2.) After Marlborough's wars (1714) it had become £54,000,000. (3.) At the close of the Seven Years' War (1763) it was £139,000,000.
5. **France and Spain.** This alliance was called the Family Compact, for the royal families of France and Spain were of the same Bourbon dynasty. This had been Louis XIV.'s aim in 'The War of the Spanish Succession.' See p. 137.
6. Pitt resigned on the 5th October 1761.
7. **Martinique**, one of the West India Islands, belonging to France.
8. **Havannah**, capital of the Island of Cuba, belonging to Spain.
9. **Philippines**, a large group of islands east of further India, belonging to Spain.
10. **Peace of Paris**, or Treaty of Fontainebleau, concluded in 1763.
11. The famous No. 45.
12. General warrants are contrary to the Habeas Corpus Act. See p. 109.
13. **Privilege.** The Chief-Justice had declared that a Member of Parliament could be arrested only for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.
14. On March 28, 1768.
15. **'45.'** See note 11 above.
16. The real constitutional points were—(1.) Privileges of Members of Parliament; (2.) the right of constituencies to choose their own members.
17. This was the fourth time they had expelled Wilkes.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CAUSES of the War.—The chief causes of this long and disastrous conflict are to be sought in the high notions of prerogative held by George III., his infatuated and stubborn self-will, and in the equally absurd self-conceit of his English subjects.

In her colonies England then acted on what was called the *colonial system*.[1] According to it, they existed for the benefit of the mother-country, could export their chief products only to the British dominions, and could import nothing from Europe which had not passed through England. A great deal of smuggling went on; but there had as yet been no serious quarrel, because the Imperial Government had for the most part hitherto left the colonies to themselves. Grenville, the English Prime Minister, now determined not only to put down the smuggling of the American colonists, but to tax them for the benefit of the empire—the mode proposed for raising the revenue being to require that certain documents should be on stamped paper.[2]

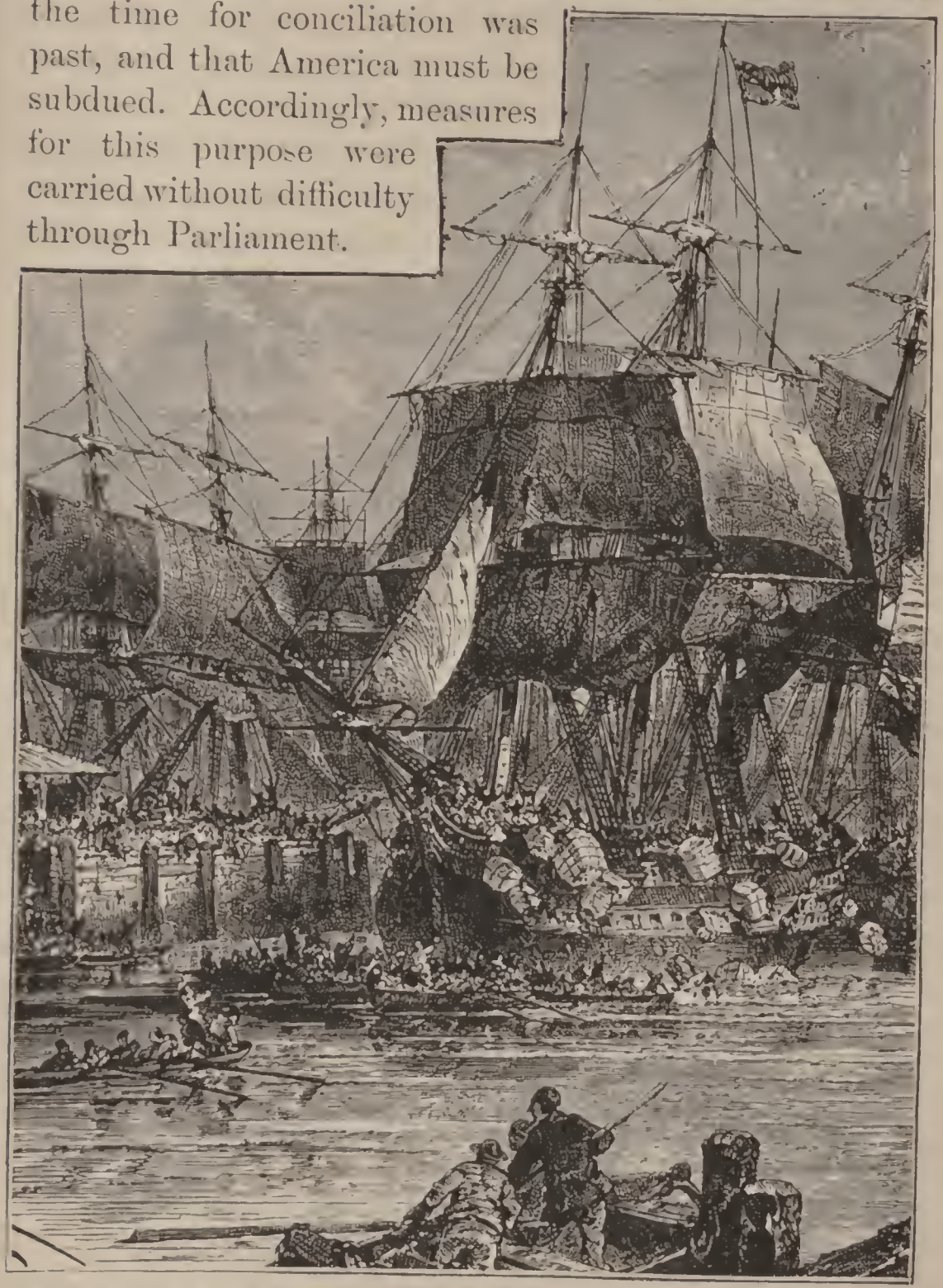
The colonists at once took alarm, and the colonial assemblies declared against the measure. The descendants of the old soldiers of the Parliament began to repeat the grand lesson of the long struggle of their English

forefathers against the crown, and '*Taxation without Representation is Tyranny*' became the watchword of the brave patriots who were to fight in America for the selfsame rights that the Englishmen of old had wrung from the tyrant John, the haughty Edward, and the reluctant Charles I.[3] So strong was the feeling, that riots took place at Boston and elsewhere; and the colonists determined to do without English goods, so as to escape the hated imposition. All was in vain, for the king and people at home were deaf to their remonstrances; and in 1766, although the Stamp Act was repealed,[4] the English Parliament passed a bill declaring the legislative supremacy of England over her colonies. Shortly afterwards a new scheme of taxation was introduced, by which the revenue was to be raised by *port duties*, not by internal excise. The feeling on both sides now became more and more bitter; and when the other duties were removed, that on tea was retained, more to mark the superiority of the English Parliament than as a matter of finance.

A circumstance in itself trifling brought matters to a crisis. The East India Company had a great stock of tea in its warehouses, and it was allowed to export this to America free of English duties, so that in the colonies it could be sold at a very low rate, but the hated colonial duty had still to be paid. Three ships laden with tea arrived in Boston.[5] A band of men dressed as Mohawk Indians boarded them, and flung the chests into the sea.

When the news reached England, the commercial classes were eager for a reconciliation, and Chatham[6] wished to withdraw all the recent measures, and restore things to their old condition. But the *king, the governing*

classes, and the great body of the people, maintained that the time for conciliation was past, and that America must be subdued. Accordingly, measures for this purpose were carried without difficulty through Parliament.



"A BAND OF MEN DRESSED AS MOHAWK INDIANS BOARDED THEM, AND FLUNG THE CHESTS INTO THE SEA."

On this side of the Atlantic there was as yet no

regular outbreak, but the people were arming everywhere. A congress assembled at Philadelphia,[7] and to this the colonists looked as the real governing power. They still professed loyalty to the king and mother country, but refused to pay taxes imposed by imperial authority, and entered into a rigid agreement neither to consume British goods nor to export a single product of their own.

In England one last effort for conciliation was made. Lord North proposed that, as long as a colonial legislature paid a reasonable sum towards imperial expenses, it should be exempted from all imperial legislation. Had this wise concession come earlier, all would have been well; but it now came too late.

The Beginning of Hostilities: George Washington.—In America the proposal was simply disregarded. Two months later, General Gage sent a party to destroy a quantity of stores collected at *Concord*,[8] but it was attacked and badly treated on its return. The whole population at once rose in arms, and Gage was shut up in Boston. He then fought and gained the battle of *Bunker's Hill;* but his troops reached the height only after being twice repulsed. Congress met on May 10, agreed on various measures for resistance, and made a last effort for peace in a petition to the king which was never even considered. They then ordered an attack on Canada, which failed; and their next important step was the appointment of *George Washington as commander-in-chief.* The war was now fairly begun, though it was not till 4th July, 1776, that *the States declared their independence;* and even then their action was hurried by England's employment of German mercenaries[9] and their desire to obtain French assistance.

To Washington was mainly due the success of the colonists, and he has ever since been hailed by his grateful fellow-citizens as '*The Father of his Country*.' This sincere patriot was in the highest sense a noble gentleman, a man without eloquence and of great modesty, but having high administrative powers, moderation, and self-control.

Further, a certain nobleness of thought and lofty elevation of character distinguished him from his fellows. His character, great in itself, seems greater when placed in contrast even with the most devoted of his friends and the bravest of his enemies. Thus George Washington stands pre-eminent as the one great figure of the American War of Independence.

Course of the War: The Surrender of Saratoga.—The chief events of that war may be briefly told. Washington forced Howe, who had succeeded Gage, to leave *Boston*[10]—the key of the north-eastern states. That general, however, before the end of the year, was successful in taking *New York*. Washington was then obliged to retire beyond the Delaware, and Congress moved from Philadelphia to Baltimore.[11] Washington's army was at this time in great danger of falling to pieces; but, by two bold and successful attacks[12] on the enemy, he revived the courage of his men and regained the greater part of New Jersey.

In June 1777, Howe sailed round the coast and up Chesapeake Bay. He then defeated Washington at *Brandy-wine Creek*, took Philadelphia, and again defeated the American General at *Germantown*.

This was the critical moment of the war. Washing-

ton was pressed for recruits, and the infant Republic was in great financial straits. France, though sympathising with the Americans, waited for some decisive event. Such an event now happened. It had been arranged that General Burgoyne should move from Canada on New York, by the line of the Hudson river and lakes George and Champlain. To hold this line would be to cut off the north-east provinces from the rest of America, and break the enemy's power of resistance. He made the attempt, but was forced to surrender at *Saratoga*.[13] France now joined in the war, and was soon followed by Spain and Holland; Lord North wished to resign; but *the king was as firm as ever, and he was supported by popular feeling in England.*

There were still many variations in the fortunes of war before the end came. The closing event of the conflict was a movement by Lord Cornwallis into Virginia. He expected to be supported from the sea, but in this he was disappointed and was forced to surrender at *Yorktown* with an effective force of 4000 men.[14] This really terminated the war as far as America was concerned, although it was not till January, 1783,[15] that the Independence of the United States was finally acknowledged.

Europe and the War: Siege of Gibraltar.—As has been said, France, Spain, and Holland had joined the States in their struggle against Britain; while Russia and the other powers of Northern Europe had entered into a league which directly aimed at our maritime supremacy. As Lord Chatham had formerly said, 'But yesterday and England might have stood against the world, now none so poor as do her reverence.'

These governments, in fact, believed that this country

Scale of English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

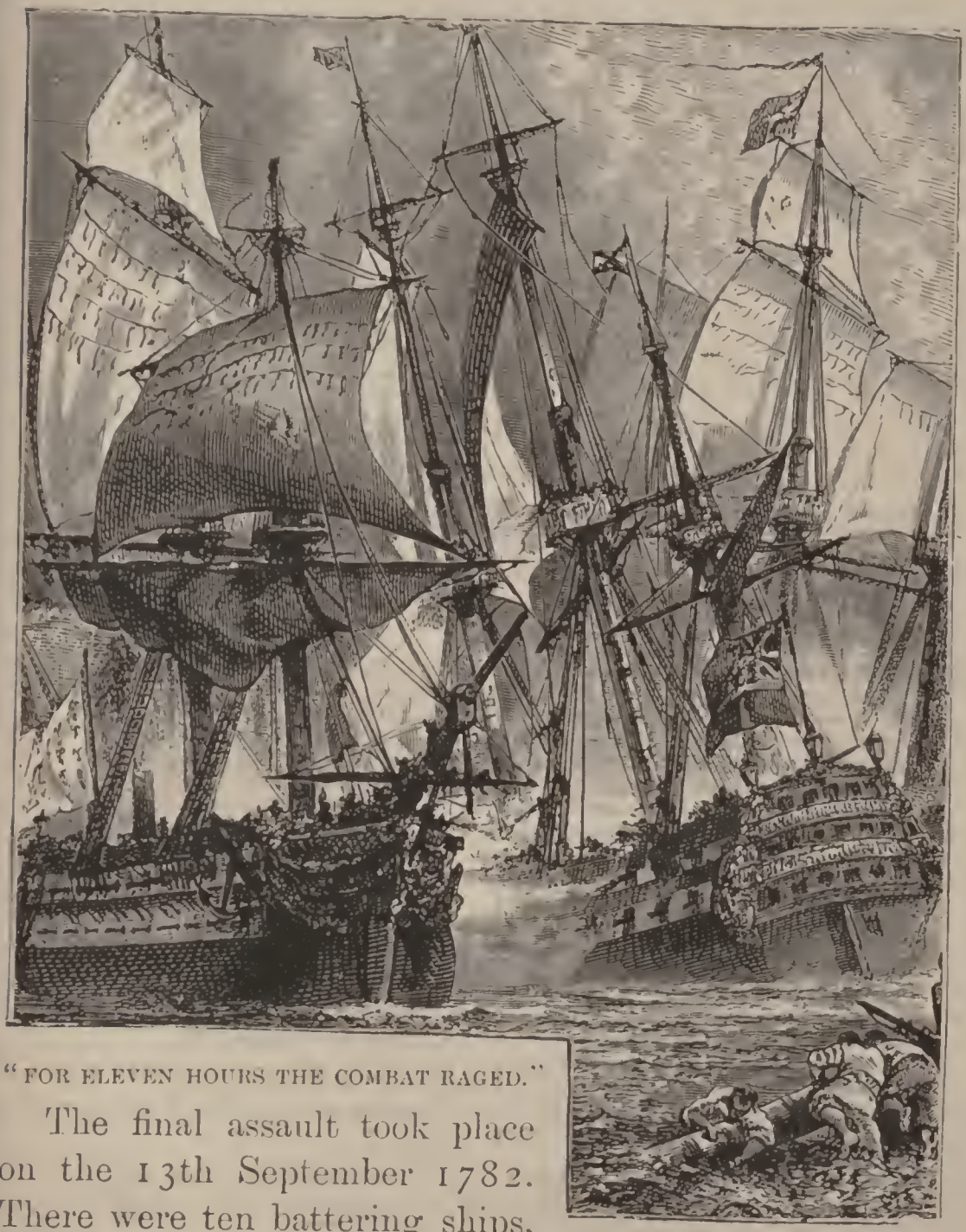
was irretrievably ruined, and each was eager to possess a portion of so vast a spoil. Holland wished to recover the maritime supremacy of which she had been deprived, France was eager to recover the vast Indian Empire won by Clive, and Spain made sure that Gibraltar was within her grasp.

In this mighty contest between England and the world, we shall give an account of two incidents, the first of which once more destroyed the naval power of France, while the second effectually humbled the over-confident might of Spain.

In April of 1782 there was an attempt to capture *Jamaica* by an attack of the combined French and Spanish naval and military forces. Admiral Rodney, however, was successful in bringing on an action with the French fleet under De Grasse, near the island of *Dominica*,[16] before they could unite with the Spaniards. One of the most fearful of naval battles then took place. Rodney broke the enemy's line and engaged him at such close quarters that the guns of the opposing vessels almost touched. The French decks were crowded with soldiers intended to act against Jamaica, and the fire of the English mowed down the dense masses. For eleven hours the combat raged. The sea was covered with masses of wreck and a multitude of human corpses; shoals of sharks moved about in the crimson tide, and, not content with preying on the dead bodies, surrounded the masses of wreck and tore away the sailors who clung to them. The Admiral's flag-ship, the 'Ville de Paris,' esteemed the flower of the whole French navy, was captured after a desperate struggle. She was then but a floating wreck; and, when her conquerors stepped on board, they found but three un-

wounded men. By this victory, Jamaica was saved and the French naval power completely broken.

This decisive blow was followed some months later by the failure of the siege of *Gibraltar*, which had occupied the Spaniards for three years.[17]



"FOR ELEVEN HOURS THE COMBAT RAGED."

The final assault took place on the 13th September 1782. There were ten battering ships, forty-seven ships of the line, and a countless number of

minor vessels. During the whole day a cannonade, unexampled in warfare, was kept up from land batteries and sea batteries against the fortress. The besieged replied with red-hot balls. The roar of 400 guns rent the air. At last the moveable battering-rams took fire, and when night had fallen they supplied light by which the combat was continued. In the morning it was seen how completely the attack had failed, and the British "devoted all their efforts to saving their now helpless enemies from the waves and the burning ships."

These events effectually changed the tone of the French and Spanish Governments, and they were glad to agree to a termination of the war into which they had so eagerly entered. By this treaty,[18] as has been said, American independence was recognised, and some trifling acquisitions of territory made no recompense to France and Spain for the enormous waste of blood and treasure which they had incurred.[19]

1. **Colonial System,** which may be dated from the passing of the first Navigation Act against the Dutch (see note 9, page 87).
2. **Stamped Paper.** A measure to this effect, called the Stamp Act, was passed through Parliament in 1765, almost without notice.
3. This refers to (1.) Magna Charta forced from John (1215); (2.) The statutes forbidding taxation without the consent of Parliament wrung from Edward I. (1297); and (3.) The Petition of Right exacted from Charles I. (1628). In all of these, the principle maintained was virtually that of the American motto—'*Taxation without representation is tyranny.*'
4. After Grenville's administration came the short one of Grafton (1766), followed by the shorter one of Mansfield (September to December 1767), followed in turn by Grafton's second ministry (1767-1770), to be followed by the longer one of Lord North (1770-1782).
5. **Boston,** chief town in Massachusetts, now the intellectual capital of the United States. The attack on the tea-ships took place in December 1773.
6. **Chatham.** Pitt was made Earl of Chatham in 1766.
7. February 20, 1775.
8. **Concord,** a town in Massachusetts.
9. **German mercenaries.** The employment by England of foreign troops—Germans, and even Indians—added intense bitterness to the conflict.
10. This took place in the beginning of the campaign of 1776.
11. The reader should carefully follow the different movements of the war upon the accompanying map.
12. **Successful attacks,** viz., at Trenton and Princeton, in New Jersey.
13. **Saratoga,** 17th October 1777.
14. October 18, 1781.
15. By the Treaty of Versailles.
16. **Dominica,** a British island in the West Indies.
17. From 1779-1783.
18. The Treaty of Versailles, January 20, 1783.
19. The American war added £100,000,000 to our national debt.

THE MINISTRY OF THE YOUNGER PITT.

WILLIAM PITT.

BEGINNING of Pitt's Ministry: The French Revolution.—Shortly after the close of the American war, the second son of the great Chatham became Prime Minister of England at the age of twenty-four,[1] and proved himself to be a statesman no less illustrious than his father. He had something of Chatham's eloquence and courage, had all his patriotism and contempt for low actions and selfish gains, while he had more self-control and geniality. To his high and noble spirit, England owed much of its success in the long struggle against France; and to him it was due that no invading army desecrated her shores, and that alone she was able to confront Napoleon at the very summit of his glory.

We must now turn aside for a little from the history of England itself, to notice a great revolution in France, which had vast influence on our own country and on all the nations of Europe. The course of French history had resulted in the establishment of a despotic government centred in Paris. All the privileges and enjoyments of life were in the hands of the few, while the great majority of the nation were wretched and oppressed.[2] For more than two centuries no representative assembly had been held.[3] But now the wars in which France had

so freely engaged had thrown the finances of the country into hopeless confusion; and at last it was determined to convoke the States-General[4]—a body resembling the British Parliament. The representatives, declaring themselves to be a National Assembly, abolished the special privileges of the nobility,[5] and confiscated the property of the Church. Finally, on the memorable 14th of July 1789, the Bastile—that gloomy prison in which so many unhappy victims of tyranny had languished—was destroyed by an infuriated mob.

From step to step the work of revolution now rapidly advanced. At first only the aristocracy were attacked, and the office of king was retained but with very limited power. Next, fearing foreign interference, the Assembly declared war against Austria[6] and Prussia, and then *suspended the king.*[7] Massacres of royalists followed, and a month afterwards the National Democratic Convention proclaimed a Republic.[8] They then declared themselves the *enemies of all governments and the allies of all peoples.* Finally the king, Louis XVI., was executed; and war was declared against England.[9]

England and the French Republic.—Ten years had now elapsed since the close of the great war of American Independence. During that time, Pitt's policy had been devoted to raise England from the exhausted state in which that struggle had left her. In this he had been successful; for England, notwithstanding the loss of her colonies, was once more feared and respected. Although he had striven to keep peace with France, the action of the Republic forced war upon him; and he prepared to carry it on with a vigour not unworthy of his great father. The struggle consisted of a series of great campaigns *on land*, and a continuous naval contest

between England and France for supremacy *at sea*. In the first of these the French were almost uniformly successful—their victories being due to the courage and energy of their soldiers, to the ability of their generals, and very specially to the splendid military genius of Napoleon Buonaparte. Within four years all the continental allies of England had been forced to make peace with the triumphant democracy, and she was left to cope with France alone.[10] It was at this time thought that Napoleon intended to attempt the invasion of England; but, instead of doing so, he persuaded the French Government that a blow could be best struck at her power in the East, and astonished the world by his Egyptian expedition.[11] After gaining several brilliant victories he returned to France[12] and was made first consul. His army had been left behind him; and, after having been totally defeated at the battle of Alexandria, *it was forced to capitulate to the British*.[13]

Meanwhile, Pitt's energy had reunited the European powers against their conqueror. But the presence of Napoleon gave victory to the arms of France; and he not only re-conquered Italy,[14] but, by the victory of *Hohenlinden*,[15] threatened Vienna itself, and forced Austria to seek for peace.[16]

English Naval Victories: The Battle of the Nile.—If Napoleon, however, triumphed on the continent, England had been no less successful at sea, in India, and in Egypt. One can only enumerate a few of the great naval victories of this war, but the gallant admirals who preceded Nelson deserve their country's praise. The defeat of the French off *Brest*[17] by Lord Howe, the destruction of the Spanish fleet at *Cape St. Vincent* by Admiral Jervis,[18] and the annihilation of

their Dutch allies off *Camperdown* by the gallant Duncan —these, and such victories, crushed the naval power of the Republic and checked its career of conquest.

One of the greatest of the naval encounters of this war was the famous *Battle of the Nile*, won by Nelson in 1798. That illustrious admiral had intended to attack the French fleet as it bore Napoleon's army to Egypt; but it escaped him, and he was able to come up with it only on the coast of Egypt at Aboukir Bay.[19]

NELSON.

The determining event of the battle was the destruction of the "Orient," the admiral's ship. Admiral Brueys himself was there. He was wounded thrice, but refused to go below. Then a chain-shot tore him so terribly that he died almost at once, still refusing to be taken from the deck. The vessel then took fire. She blazed like a huge torch, and threw a light so clear over the bay that even the colours of the ships could be distinguished. Whilst her crew were still continuing the combat from the lower deck, she blew up with so terrible a report that every ship in the bay shook, and the awe-struck combatants suspended their efforts.

Of the thirteen ships of the line with which the French entered the battle, two only escaped. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene."

Still another great exploit of Nelson requires to be

mentioned. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark had again joined in an armed neutrality against England.[20] To prevent the formidable fleet of the latter power from being used against them, the English sent an expedition to Copenhagen. In this, Nelson gained a great victory, and thus broke up the dangerous northern league.[21]

Both nations now needed rest; and so, on March 27, 1802, peace was concluded at Amiens. By this treaty, England restored all her colonial conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad, and acknowledged Napoleon. Sheridan expressed the general opinion when he said, "This is a peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of."[22]

England and Ireland.—The first year of the nineteenth century witnessed a change of the utmost importance in the government of the country—the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland. The latter had for centuries laboured under great evils, for England had never been able to make its inhabitants contented with her yoke. The ruling class was separated by race, religion, position, and interest from those they ruled: the former was Saxon, Protestant, land-owning; the latter were Celtic, Roman Catholic, and peasants. The making of the laws was entirely in the hands of the Protestant minority, and the Parliament they elected was more corrupt than the English Parliament had been in its worst days. Further, the land was held under a system[23] which left the peasantry but little hope in harvest industry; and the whole trade of Ireland was discouraged lest it should come into competition with that of England.

Ireland was accordingly ripe for rebellion, and an insurrection broke out in 1798. Both the rising and its suppression were marked by great cruelty.

The better class of Catholics had not taken part in the revolt. Pitt was convinced that no harm could arise to Britain if justice was done them; and they, knowing his inclination, were ready to support him in the plan he now disclosed for a union between the Parliaments of the two countries.

The landholders, however, offered sturdy opposition to the proposed union. More than a million was, therefore, spent in buying them over; and there was a lavish bestowal of honours. An effective majority was thus secured. A party, of whom Grattan [24] was the chief, and who believed that the interests of Ireland were best served by a separate Parliament, still opposed it. But they were powerless; the majority in favour of the Union resolutions was no less than 46;[25] and the Parliament of Ireland was incorporated with that of Great Britain.[26]

1. Pitt became minister in 1783, and, with an interval from 1801-1804, he remained in power till 1806.
2. See p. 147.
3. The last meeting of the French representatives had been held in 1614.
4. They met on the 5th May 1789.
5. **Privileges of the nobility.** Among other privileges the governing classes paid no taxes, so that all the burden fell upon the masses of the people.
6. War was declared against Austria in April 1792.
7. The king was suspended on August 10, 1792.
8. The Republic was proclaimed on September 12, 1792.
9. February 8, 1793.
10. The last power to hold out was Austria, but it was forced to yield by Napoleon's brilliant Italian campaign. Peace was made between it and France on the 17th October 1797.
11. 1798.
12. Napoleon left Egypt in 1799.
13. In 1801. The British leader was the brave Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was mortally wounded in the battle.
14. After leading his army across the Alps, Napoleon won the great battle of Marengo, in Piedmont.
15. **Hohenlinden,** in the south-east of Bavaria, between the rivers Inn and Isar. The battle was fought on the 2d of December 1800.
16. Peace was made between France and Austria on February 9, 1801.
17. In 1794.
18. This battle took place in 1797; the Spanish ships had been intended to help in the invasion of England.
19. **Aboukir Bay,** 12 miles north-east of Alexandria.
20. See p. 190.
21. The battle of Copenhagen was fought in 1801.
22. Pitt had resigned before the peace, and had been succeeded by Addington. See note 1, above.
23. **The Land System** of Ireland was a very bad one. '*Middle-men*' collected the rents for the landlords and the tithes for the clergy. The wealthier proprietors and clergy were *absentees*, and were thus a continual drain upon the resources of the unhappy country.
24. **Grattan.** See note 4, p. 176.
25. The bill received the royal assent on August 2, 1800, and the first United Parliament met in 1801, which is always taken as the actual date of the union.
26. Ireland was to send 100 Commons, 24 temporal and 4 spiritual peers.

ENGLAND AND NAPOLEON: THE PENINSULAR WAR.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

THE Period before the Peninsular War.—After little more than a year of peace, Napoleon once more declared war against England.[1] He saw that England was the one power in Europe which, in spite of his victories, could shield his enemies, condemn his ambition, and confront him as an equal.

Tidings of vast armaments which were being equipped in France soon roused the English people to make preparations for the defence of their homes,[2] and Napoleon was only prevented from ever disembarking his vaunted 'army of England' by two obstacles—Pitt's able European policy, and the triumphant success of the British fleet under the heroic Nelson.

When the French emperor saw that his scheme of invasion had become hopeless, he collected his troops for a series of gigantic attacks upon his continental foes. The year that followed was the most glorious in his history. He had a few months before proclaimed himself King of Italy;[3] and he now within six weeks forced an Austrian army to capitulate,[4] entered Vienna, and broke up the union between Austria and Russia by the great battle of *Austerlitz*.[5] Prussia was afterwards completely over-

thrown at *Jena*,[6] and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph.

The Battle of Trafalgar: Death of Nelson.—As Napoleon triumphed on land, so did England at sea. Two days after the Austrian army had capitulated on the banks of the Danube, Nelson destroyed the French fleet in the great battle of *Trafalgar*.[7]

The British fleet attacked the French in two lines—one led by Nelson, dashing at the centre of the enemy; the other, commanded by the noble Collingwood, sweeping down upon the rear. Although the French fleet was a good deal stronger than the British,[8] the issue was never for a moment doubtful; for in spite of the most desperate bravery, twenty of their ships were taken. Alas! the moment of triumph became likewise that of sorrow, for the heroic Nelson was slain. His last signal was "England expects every man to do his duty;" his last words, again and again repeated, were, "Thank God, I have done my duty." It was in the thickest of the fight that he received his death-wound. He knew it was mortal, but still was able to give directions for the safety of the fleet; and his last moments were soothed by the knowledge that he had gained a great and splendid victory.

Nelson's was a simple, pious, and heroic nature. He was generous even to a fault, passionate and warm-hearted. Daring, yet cautious and far-seeing, fear was to him unknown. English seamen held his name as something sacred; pieces of his flag and of the coffin that brought home his remains were claimed as relics; while the nation felt that even Trafalgar was dearly purchased by the loss of Nelson.

Death of Pitt.—Scarcely three months afterwards,

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

Pitt died of a broken heart.[9] The plans he had laboriously elaborated for the destruction of Napoleon were all defeated by 'Austerlitz.' He said bitterly that the old map of Europe would no longer be required, and so severely had the news impressed him that men spoke of his Austerlitz look. They laid him beside his father in Westminster Abbey, and the year was not yet out when another statesman, Pitt's equal and rival, was laid beside him. This was the famous *Charles James Fox*,[10] whose ardent and hopeful nature had led him to sympathise with the French Revolution and even for long to believe in Buonaparte. Some vain negotiations for peace, conducted after the death of Pitt, convinced him that he was wrong. Disappointed hopes hastened his end, as it had done that of the rival beside whom he sleeps.

Beginning of the Peninsular War: Battle of Corunna.—The years 1807 and 1808 were dark years in the history of England. All Europe was against her; and by the Berlin decree[11] Napoleon declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and thus struck a deadly blow at that commercial greatness which he saw to be the main source of the country's strength. Russia,[12] too, had at last yielded to Napoleon, and was now the ally of France and the enemy of England. Yet it was at this time that, having driven the French from the sea, Britain determined to grapple with her enemy on land.

It was in the Peninsula that the first sign of a change was seen. Napoleon had invaded Portugal, and a British army, under Wellesley,[13] was sent to its assistance. The expedition was successful,[14] and the French withdrew.[15]

But this brief success was soon overclouded. Napoleon collected immense armies, and himself hurried into Spain to direct them. The Spaniards had made great boast-

ings about the strength of their forces, and large supplies of arms had been sent out to them. Further, Sir John Moore, with a small army of 25,000, was ordered to advance into Spain and give them support. He found that the Spanish armies had vanished before the emperor,

THE BURIAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

and that he would have to meet alone the French army of 70,000. He at once saw the real state of things, and retreated just in time to escape destruction.

The fleet was at *Vigo*,[16] and the army at first moved there; but it was seen that the harbour was not suit-

PENINSULAR WAR

Scale of English Miles
0 100 200 300

able, and the route was changed for *Corunna*.[17] The march from first to last was one long series of difficulties and dangers. In the gloomy winter weather the army struggled on, and at *Lugo* [18] offered battle. The French declined it; and in the night the English, leaving their camp-fires burning to deceive the enemy, silently continued their retreat over roads where the way was marked for them by bundles of straw. At last Corunna was reached; but the fleet was not yet there; and, as the French soon occupied the heights,[19] it was necessary to fight a battle in order to be able to embark. The British were successful, but in the heat of the battle their brave general was cruelly wounded by a cannon shot, and died giving utterance to the earnest hope that his country would do him justice. He was hurriedly buried by his sorrowing comrades, who felt that although his expedition had failed, the time would come when England would reverence her hero's name.

The Campaigns of Wellington.—Three months after the battle of Corunna, Wellington[20] (for he may at once be called by the name by which he will be for ever known in history), arrived at Lisbon, and it was then that the struggle for the deliverance of the Peninsula really began. There have been generals more brilliant and more dashing, but none more prudent, more wisely daring and farsighted—none more certain to win success in the end. A principle of duty to his country ruled all his actions; and, although so skilful in the art of war, he felt deeply its horrors—gladly laying aside the sword after his task was done.

Such was Spain's deliverer, and all his qualities were needed for the task before him. He was able again and again to advance into that country,[21] but was forced time

after time to retire; and whenever he had to depend upon the help of those men whose country he was freeing, he found himself baffled. One refuge he had secured for himself. By the lines of *Torres Vedras*,[22] he had safely guarded a tract of country between the Tagus and the sea. Massena appeared before this stronghold in November 1810, but was forced to retreat without having accomplished anything. Wellington was soon successful in freeing Portugal; and, though the French were long able to keep their hold on Spain, yet that hold cost them tremendous sacrifices.[23] The moral effect of the conflict was great. The nations of Europe could now see that the armies of France were not irresistible; and the spectacle of that country striving to subdue a people struggling for freedom proved how far she had departed from the first principles of the Revolution. At last Europe rose against Napoleon, and he was forced to release his hold on the Peninsula.[24]

The last campaign was that of 1813. In June of that year, Wellington gained a great victory at *Vittoria*[25] over the French, who were forced to retreat, leaving not merely the plunder and treasure they were carrying from Spain, but all their military stores behind them. A succession of terrible conflicts was fought in the passes of the Pyrenees. The French resisted gallantly but in vain, for the British still advanced. The long series of combats was closed by the battle of *Toulouse*.[26] This was not a decisive conflict, but the advantages of victory remained with the British, and the French still retreated. As the British were preparing to press forward, they learned that Napoleon had abdicated six days before—the accidental delay of the messengers had thus cost the loss of 8000 men.

Napoleon had at last fallen! He had declared war against Russia, and marched into the heart of that country. He had taken Moscow, but it was burned by its inhabitants, and the invader was forced to retreat. His army was almost destroyed by the terrible weather

NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

and the host of enemies that hovered round his famished columns. France had been drained of men, and now all Europe rose up against its humbled emperor. In vain Napoleon displayed his marvellous generalship! In vain his soldiers sacrificed themselves with reckless

bravery! Nothing could prevent the inevitable ruin! The Allied Armies[27] entered France, and occupied the capital. The fallen conqueror was given the island of Elba as a place of retirement, the Bourbons[28] were restored, and a congress was summoned to Vienna to reconstruct the political system of Europe.

1. The peace had lasted from March 27, 1802, to May 18, 1803.
2. This period is marked by a great *volunteer* movement. The manhood of Great Britain enrolled themselves in every town and county of the kingdom to fight for home and liberty.
3. Napoleon was proclaimed King of Italy in May 1805.
4. **At Ulm**, in the east of Wurtemberg, on the Danube, October 19, 1805, two days before Trafalgar.
5. **Austerlitz**, near Brunn, in Moravia. The battle was fought on December 2, 1805. The Austrians lost 27,000 killed and wounded, 20,000 prisoners, and 133 pieces of cannon.
6. **Jena**, in the Saxon States, on the Saale, north of Bavaria. The battle took place on October 14, 1806; Napoleon entered Berlin on October 27.
7. **Trafalgar**, a wild headland west of the Strait of Gibraltar. The battle was fought in October 1805.
8. The French entered the battle with 33 sail of the line and 7 frigates; the British with 27 sail of the line and 4 frigates.
9. January 23, 1806.
10. Fox died in September.
11. **Berlin decree**, issued in November 1806. This edict forbade all British trade with the Continent.
12. **Russia** was defeated at Friedland on June 14, 1807, and made alliance with Napoleon by the treaty of Tilsit on July 17.
13. **Wellesley**, afterwards Duke of Wellington. At this time he was hampered by the interference of the commonplace Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who were set over him. It was the latter, against Wellesley's advice, who concluded the Convention.
14. Wellesley won the battles of Rorica or Rolica and Vimiera, both in Portugal.
15. The withdrawal was agreed to at the Convention of Cintra, signed August 30, 1808. Cintra is a small town near Cape Roca, west of Lisbon.
16. **Vigo**, on Vigo Bay, in Galicia near the Portuguese frontier.
17. **Corunna**, in the north-west of Galicia, between Capes Ortegal and Finisterre. The battle was fought on January 16, 1809.
18. **Lugo**, on the Minho, in Galicia, south-east of Corunna.
19. **The heights.** The Cantabrian Mountains form an extension of the Pyrenees to Cape Finisterre, and run east of Corunna, commanding the town.
20. Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Lisbon (this time as commander-in-chief), on April 22, 1809.
21. That is, to advance into Spain from Portugal. On his first advance he won the great battle of Talavera, on the Tagus, 75 miles south-west of Madrid.
22. **Torres Vedras**, a village 27 miles north-west of Lisbon. Wellington built a double wall of stone across the hills from the Tagus to the Atlantic.
23. In the year 1811 the English gained three great victories in their second advance into Spain. These were the following:—(1.) Graham defeated Marshal Victor at *Barrosa*, to the west of Cadiz (March 5, 1811); (2.) Wellington routed the French at *Fuentes d'Onoro*, in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, south-west of Ciudad Rodrigo (May 5); (3.) He gained the still more decisive victory of *Albuera*, in Spain, near Badajoz, 120 miles east of Lisbon (May 16).
24. In the year 1812, Wellington made his *third* invasion of Spain. In this he gained the following victories:—(1.) Capture of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier; (2.) Capture of *Badajoz*, in Spain, on the Guadiana, near the Portuguese frontier; (3.) Overcame Marmont at *Salamanca*, on the Tormes, 112 miles north-west of Madrid; (4.) He entered Madrid in triumph on the 12th August. The advance of two armies against him then forced him to retreat on Portugal.
25. **Vittoria**, in the north of Spain, 30 miles south of Bilbao, on the Bay of Biscay.
26. **Toulouse**, in the south of France, on the Garonne; fought April 10, 1814.
27. **The Allied Armies**, chiefly Russia, Austria, and Prussia. To these are to be added the victorious army of Britain from the south.
28. **The Bourbons.** See note 8, p. 176.

WATERLOO.

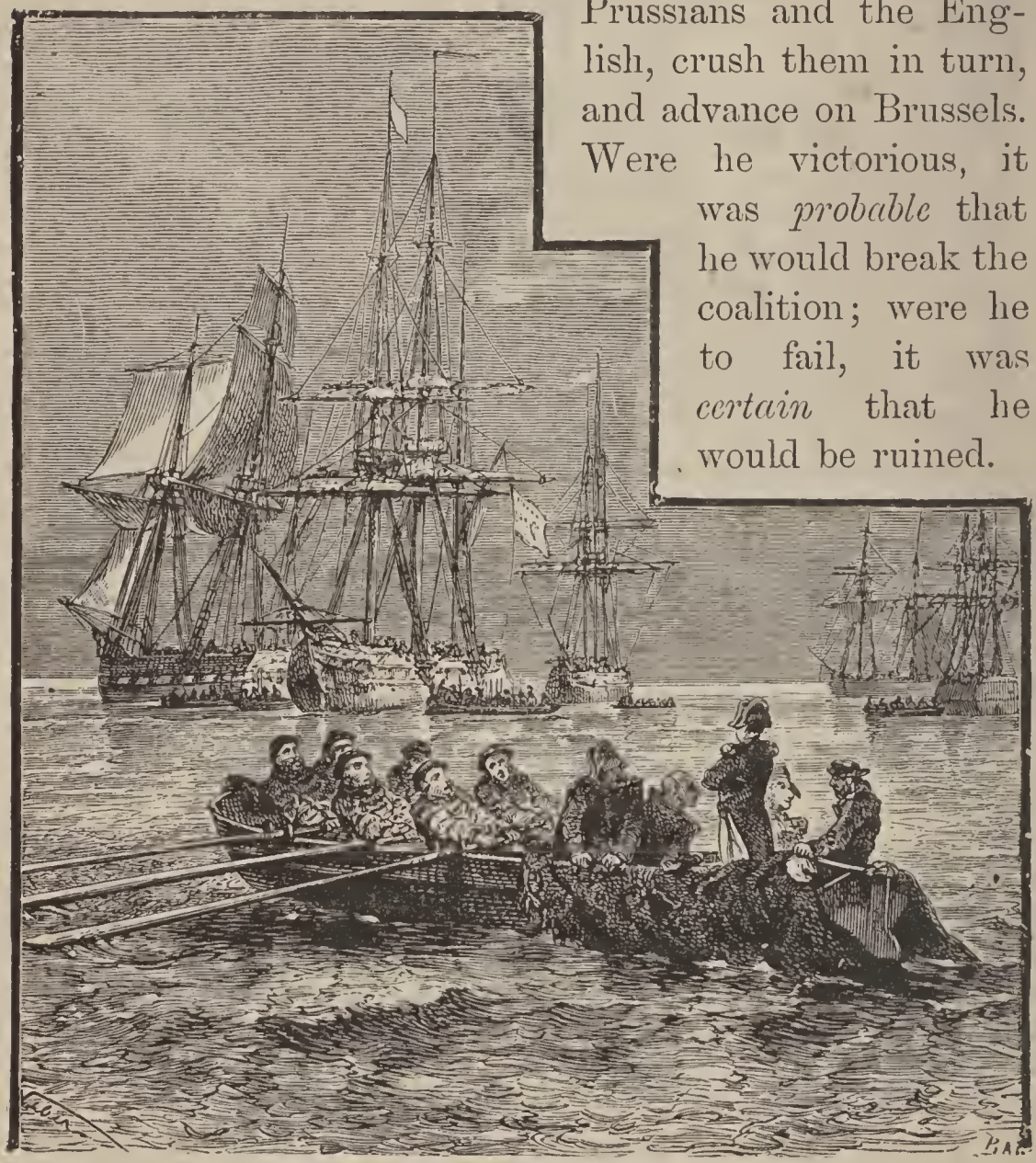
WELLINGTON.

THE Renewal of the Struggle.—The difficult negotiations were still proceeding[1] when the assembled diplomatists were informed that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, that all France had rallied round him, that the Bourbons were fugitives, and that the Emperor was once more installed in Paris. Napoleon, in spite of his fair promises, was then declared a public enemy; and a league of the great European powers was formed to overturn his power.

Napoleon saw that instant action was necessary. He felt that his only chance was to win some splendid victories, and then break up the league against him. Success was by no means hopeless. He had great genius, and was at the head of the most splendid soldiers in Europe—seasoned veterans devotedly attached to him. His opponents were many, their interests were not identical, and it would take some time before their unwieldy forces could act with full effect.

Belgium seemed marked out by various circumstances as the theatre of the impending conflict. To this country Wellington was despatched at the head of 80,000 men. His plan was to advance from the sea eastward until he united with the Prussians, 110,000 in number, and led by the brave Blucher. The com-

bined armies would then outnumber the French, and could at once advance upon France from the north-east. Napoleon's evident design was to move his troops in one mass into Belgium, interpose between the Prussians and the English, crush them in turn, and advance on Brussels. Were he victorious, it was *probable* that he would break the coalition; were he to fail, it was *certain* that he would be ruined.



NAPOLEON'S ESCAPE FROM ELBA.

He was successful in advancing into Belgium, and separating the English from the Prussians. He then defeated the latter at *Ligny*,[2] driving them northward[3] and sending an army under Grouchy to prevent their

union with Wellington. On the same day, Ney, who had been sent forward towards Brussels, encountered Wellington at *Quatre Bras*.[4] He strove, with stubborn but unsuccessful valour, to drive the English from their position. But, having been joined by Napoleon with the victorious army of Ligny, he was able once more to advance and compel the English general to fall back.

The Field of Waterloo.—The final struggle took

place to the south of the village of Waterloo.[5] Wellington had sent word to Blucher that he would hold the hill of St. Jean;[6] and on being assured that the Prussians would arrive ere the close of the day,[7] took up his position. Both armies lay across the road to Waterloo—having a valley between them, in which stood several country and farm houses. The chief of these was *Hougoumont*, which was on the British right, and garrisoned by them.

On the night of that 17th of June, the soldiers lay down on the bare ground. The night was tempestuous, and

rain fell heavily. At dawn the bad weather still continued; but in the early forenoon it cleared off, and the lines of the enemy could be seen on the opposite ridge.

Napoleon knew well the importance of the struggle about to begin. "If," said he afterwards, "the English army had been beaten at Waterloo, what would have been the use of these numerous bodies of troops—of Prussians, Austrians, Germans, and Spaniards, which were advancing by forced marches to the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees?" But he did not move at dawn, because he wished to have dry ground on which to operate, and he thought that the marshalling and reviewing of his troops would excite their enthusiasm. In this he judged rightly; but he did not know that Blucher was hurrying to the assistance of their allies. This fatal error was the chief cause of his ruin. It was not till nearly noon that he commenced his attack.

Although this was the only occasion on which Napoleon and Wellington, the two greatest of then living generals, measured themselves against each other, the battle was not remarkable for skilled or complicated manœuvres. Its main points were four in number—an attack on Hougoumont, a similar advance against the English left, a furious charge on the English right centre, and a final onslaught on the whole British line.

The attack on Hougoumont was not according to Napoleon's intention to form a chief part in the battle, but it became so because that point was so stubbornly defended. The wood round it was occupied by the enemy, the building itself was set on fire, but at the close of the day it was still in the hands of the British.

The second movement was a determined attack on the British left by a great mass of French infantry. This

charge succeeded in destroying the first line, consisting of foreign troops; but it was then received by the English foot under Picton, with a volley poured in at close quarters and a bayonet charge. The assailants were then charged by the British cavalry, and driven back across the valley. The British line remained unbroken.

The third attempt consisted, as has been said, of a series of cavalry charges against the British right centre. This attack was afterwards found to have been the decisive moment of the day. At one time some of the French infantry were able to seize part of the ridge. They also held *La Haye Sainte*,[8] one of the farmhouses already mentioned, which was situated near the British line. Could Napoleon, at this crisis, have poured in a large force of infantry to support them, the fate of the day might have been changed; but he had no men to spare. Blucher had kept his word. The Prussians were arriving in constantly increasing force on the French right, and were threatening, not only to ruin Napoleon's last chance of victory, but to cut off all chance of escape.

Retreat was still possible, but it meant ruin as complete as the most utter loss could make it. *There was still one chance of success.* The Old Guard had been held in reserve, and it was now brought forward and hurled against the British centre. This was accompanied with an advance of other portions of the French army. But they were met with deadly volleys of shot poured in at close quarters and bayonet charges, driven back in confusion, and the last hope of Napoleon was lost. It was past eight o'clock in the evening when the order, so long eagerly expected, was given to the British army to advance. They poured into the valley and up the opposite ridge, met with little resistance, and soon the whole French army was in retreat—a retreat which became a disorderly rout as the Prussians followed hard in pursuit.

On the field of battle all was now still save for the groans of the wounded. The ghastly horrors of the scene were half revealed by the moonlight that poured down on it. Wellington, after an interview with Blucher, rode back over the ground, and even his iron stoicism was shaken by the spectacle of human suffering that he viewed around him. "My heart is broken," he wrote at the time, "by the terrible loss I have sustained in my old friends and companions, and my poor soldiers. Believe me, nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won." The second occupation of Paris, the second abdication of Napoleon, his surrender to the English, confinement in St. Helena [9] for life, and the second treaty of Paris, which again reconstituted the French monarchy, were the results of the great victory of Waterloo.

1. The Congress began to meet at Vienna in September 1814; the news of Napoleon's escape reached it in March 1815.
2. **Ligny**, in the province of Namur in Belgium, 20 miles south-east of Brussels, and north of the river Sambre. The battle took place on the 16th of June.
3. **Northward.** This is one of the important

points in the brief but terrible campaign. Napoleon thought the Prussians had retreated *eastward*.

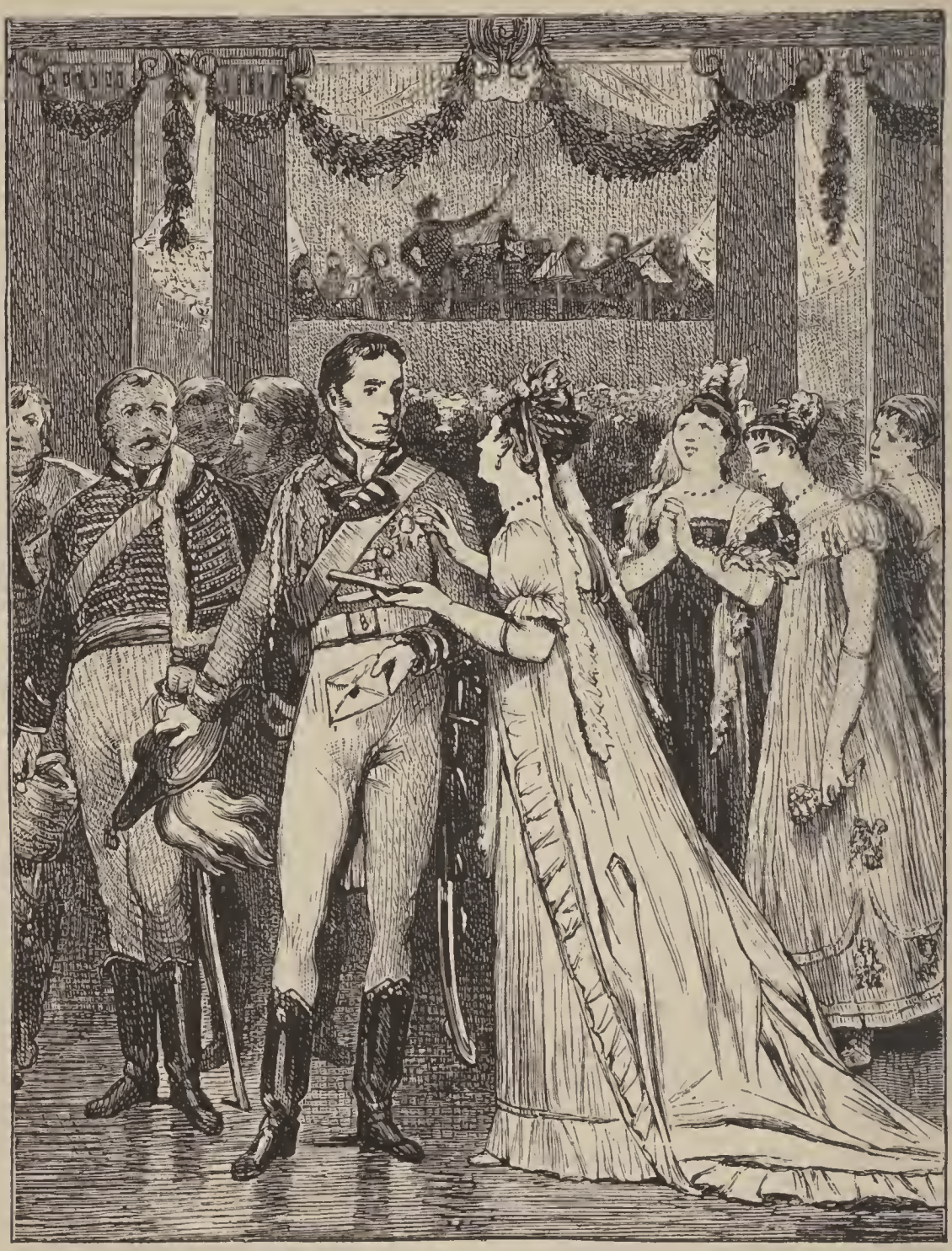
4. **Quatre Bras** (pronounced *Katr Brah*), 20 miles south of Brussels.
5. **Waterloo**, 10 miles *south* of Brussels.
6. **St. Jean** (pronounced *Sangt Jang*), a hill south of Waterloo.
7. Recall here note 3 above. It was here Napoleon made his mistake. He never dreamt that the Prussians could arrive in time.
8. **La Haye Sainte** (pronounced *(La ay Sangt)* south of the village of Waterloo and St. Jean, on the road from Quatre Bras to Waterloo and Brussels.
9. **St. Helena**, an island in the South Atlantic, 1200 miles from the coast of Africa.

THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.[1]

STOP! for thy tread is on an empire's dust!
An earthquake's spoil is sepulchred below!
Is the spot marked with no colossal bust,
Or column trophied for triumphal show?
None; but the moral's[2] truth tells simpler so.
As the ground was before, thus let it be.—
How that red rain hath made the harvest grow!
And is this all the world has gained by thee,
Thou first and last of fields! king-making victory?

There was a sound of revelry by night,[3]
And Belgium's capital[4] had gathered then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry; and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men.
A thousand hearts beat happily, and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

"Did ye not hear it?"—"No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined!
No sleep till morn, when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet."—
But, hark! that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!
Arm! Arm! it is—it is—the cannon's opening roar.



WELLINGTON LEAVING THE BALL.

Ah ! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress ;
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blushed at the praise of their own loveliness.
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs

Which ne'er might be repeated;—who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise?

And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;
And the deep thunder, peal on peal, afar!
And near, the beat of the alarming drum
Roused up the soldier ere the morning star;
While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering, with white lips,—"The foe!—they come! they come!"

And Ardennes[5] waves above them her green leaves,
Dewy with Nature's tear-drops, as they pass,
Grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves,
Over the unreturning brave—alas!
Ere evening to be trodden like the grass
Which now beneath them, but above shall grow
In its next verdure, when this fiery mass
Of living valour, rolling on the foe,
And burning with high hope, shall moulder cold and low!

Last noon beheld them full of lusty life—
Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay,
The midnight brought the signal-sound of strife—
The morn, the marshalling in arms—the day,
Battle's magnificently stern array!
The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which, when rent,
The earth is covered thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover, heaped and pent,
Rider and horse—friend, foe—in one red burial blent!

1. See page 211.
2. **Moral**, the *lesson* to be learned from the scene.
3. The Duchess of Richmond gave a ball in Brussels on the night of the 15th of June 1815. To it were invited the Duke of Wellington and the chief officers of the army. During the evening tidings came of Napoleon's advance, and one by one the officers left the ball, to lead their soldiers to Quatre Bras.
4. **Belgium's capital**, Brussels.
5. **Ardennes**, a great forest in the south of Belgium, of which the wood of Soignies behind Waterloo was a part.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE GREAT PEACE.

GEORGE IV.

ACCESSION and Character of George IV.[1]—A very long period of peace followed the battle of Waterloo. It is true that England had many little wars on the outskirts of her vast empire, but until the outbreak of the Crimean War it may fairly be said to have enjoyed a period of profound tranquillity. George III. lived but four years after the great victory.[2] He had been imbecile for many years, and the throne had been really filled by the Prince Regent, who now became George IV. The news of his death was, however, received with sincere regret. Men admired the purity of his life, which contrasted favourably with that of his successor; they pitied his misfortunes, for, whatever his errors, they were also those of the great body of Englishmen.

In the new era which now commenced the personal character of the sovereign had less direct effect upon the government of the country. Accordingly, little need be said on what, in the case of George IV., is an unpleasant subject. This prince had a certain charm of manner, and much reckless generosity. He was, however, quite selfish and destitute of mental ability; yet he was called by his admirers the finest gentleman in Europe. In ridiculing this misnomer,[3] Thackeray finely

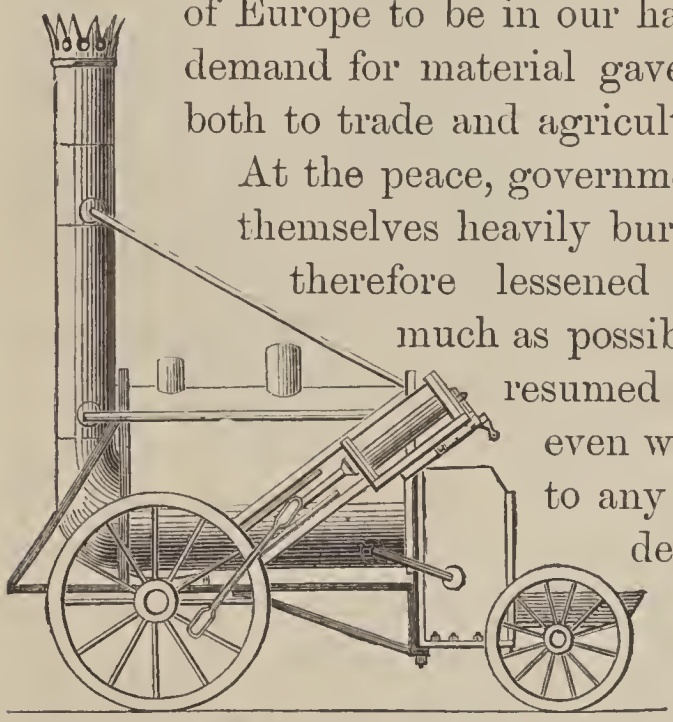
says[4]—"What is it to be a gentleman? Is it to have lofty aims, to lead a pure life, to keep your honour virgin; to have the esteem of your fellow-citizens, and the love of your fireside; to bear good fortune meekly; to suffer evil with constancy; and through evil as good to maintain truth always?" Not one of these qualities did this king possess; but showed himself in every respect utterly unworthy of the loyalty and admiration which were so lavishly wasted upon him.

A Changed England.—While the Constitution remained as it had been at the beginning of the Hanoverian dynasty, England had undergone a great change during the long reign of George III.,—a change as great as any since the Norman conquest.

In the first place, Britain had become a *manufacturing* country, and was no longer agricultural. The invention of the steam-engine by Watt[5] was followed by a great series of improvements[6] both in machinery and in means of transport. This gave an immense stimulus to industry. The country was everywhere opened up by canals and roads, and the great body of the people became gathered together in towns instead of being spread over country districts. While the improvements in manufactures did immense good to the country as a whole, they for a time lessened the gains of many artisans—for these men now became unskilled labourers, and were able to earn only very small wages. These injured workmen feeling their daily bread in danger, were naturally excited against the men who introduced the new order of things, and went about the country in bands to destroy the hated machines.[7]

Other changes still further tended to deprive the poorer classes of employment and bread. Of these the

greatest was the peace. Notwithstanding the heavy burdens which the war entailed, it had been most favourable to British commerce. Manufacturing could not be carried on securely in continental countries which were liable to hostile invasion, and which were in turn the theatres of a destructive war. In England there was no interruption more serious than a riot; while our command over the seas caused all the carrying trade of Europe to be in our hands, and the enormous demand for material gave a temporary stimulus both to trade and agriculture.



THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE (*see* note 6, p. 222).

At the peace, governments and peoples found themselves heavily burdened with debt; they therefore lessened their expenditure as much as possible. Foreign countries resumed manufacturing; and, even where they did not do so to any large extent, they had destroyed many of the sources of their wealth, and thus were not able to purchase largely. Consequently there was less demand for various commodities and the poor producers suffered greatly. The price of corn declined, both because foreign nations began to send in supplies, and because the demand was less. This involved the farmers (who were paying enormous rents), and through them the agricultural labourers, in ruin.

The Beginning of Reform: Catholic Emancipation.—The wide-spread suffering, stimulated by the spirit of improvement which was so busy on all sides, raised a universal cry for political reform. At first, the Ministry

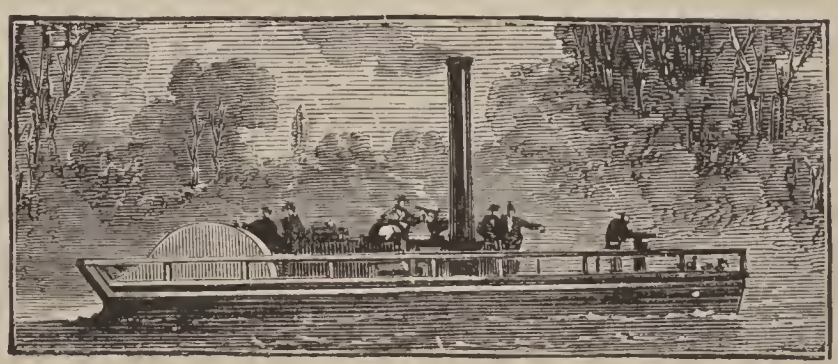
sought to crush this demand for change by a strongly repressive policy. Thus when great meetings assembled in various parts of the country the Government dispersed them by military force,[8] made no attempt to inquire into the popular grievances, and strove by the most extreme measures to trample out the prevailing discontent.

A change for the better took place in 1822, when two enlightened statesmen, Canning[9] and Huskisson, joined the Ministry. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade, and his measures paved the way for *free trade*. Restrictions which hampered the wool and silk trades were removed; the Navigation Laws,[10] designed to protect British shipping but really injurious to the commerce of the country, were so far reduced as to be practically abolished. Canning, a man of a large and enlightened nature, may be said to have been the moving spirit in these improvements. He was the chief agent in securing the independence of Greece,[11] and warmly advocated the relief of the Catholic population of the empire from the disadvantages under which they laboured. It shows how powerful the reforming spirit had become, when we find the Duke of Wellington (who had been opposed to all innovation) compelled to accept the repeal of the *Test and Corporation Acts*.[12]

Complete *Catholic Emancipation*[13] was not long delayed, nor could it be. In Ireland the agitation grew more and more intense, the "Catholic gentry, peasantry, and priesthood, were all combined in one vast confederacy." Daniel O'Connell,[14] "the Liberator," as his countrymen afterwards fondly called him, conducted the movement with considerable skill, and his passionate eloquence did much to persuade England as well as to stimulate the people of Ireland. The English Catholics

had been the most loyal supporters of their king and country, and justice and expediency alike were on their side. The measure was effective enough when it did come, as it admitted Catholics to all the offices of civil employment.[15] The king made some feeble effort to delay the measure, but in this he was unsuccessful.[16]

1. **George IV.** reigned from 1820 to 1830.
2. George III. died on the 29th of January 1820.
3. **Misnomer,** a *misnaming, i.e.,* a wrong or misleading name.
4. In the closing paragraph of his Essay on George IV.
5. **Watt.** James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine, was born in the year 1736 at Greenock, on the river Clyde. His great discovery was made when he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, viz., in 1764 or 1765. His discovery was really that of the separate *condenser,* not of the steam engine as a whole.
6. **Improvements.** A few of these may be given here:—(1.) In 1768 Arkwright invented the *spinning frame;* (2.) In 1779 Crompton gave us the *spinning mule;* (3.) In 1784 Cartwright invented the *power loom;* (4.) In 1788 James Symington's steamboat was placed on Dalswinton Lock, and in 1811 the Comet steamboat began to ply on the river Clyde; (5.) In 1807 gas was used for street lamps in Golden Lane, London; and (6.) in 1814 George Stephenson constructed the first locomotive steam-engine.
7. These machine-breakers were called Luddites, from an idiot lad called Lud, who in 1780 entered a cottage in a Leicestershire village and broke a frame.
8. The greatest of these popular meetings was at Peterloo, near Manchester, August 16, 1819. The military were without cause commanded to disperse the people; many lives were lost, and the outrage was afterwards known as 'the Peterloo massacre.'
9. **Canning** was Prime Minister from April to August 1827.
10. **The Navigation Laws.** See p. 101, and note 9, p. 87.
11. **Independence of Greece,** assured by the victory of Navarino, when the combined English, French, and Russian fleets destroyed the combined Turkish and Egyptian navies. This took place in 1827.
12. **Test and Corporation Acts.** See note 10, p. 105. They were repealed in May 1828, but only so as to relieve Protestant Dissenters.
13. **Catholic Emancipation.** The Bill was passed in April 1829.
14. **Daniel O'Connell** was the founder of the Catholic Association, and laboured for years to procure the repeal of all Acts prejudicial to Roman Catholicism. The passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829 enabled him to sit in Parliament; and thereafter his grand project was the repeal of the Union between Ireland and England.
15. The Crown can still only be held by a Protestant; the Lord Chancellor must be of the same religion.
16. His health had been failing for many years, and eight months later he died. Three small wars took place in this reign: (1.) The Ashantee War (1824-26); (2.) Burmese War (1824-26); (3.) Destruction of the Turkish fleet (1827).



THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT REFORM BILL.

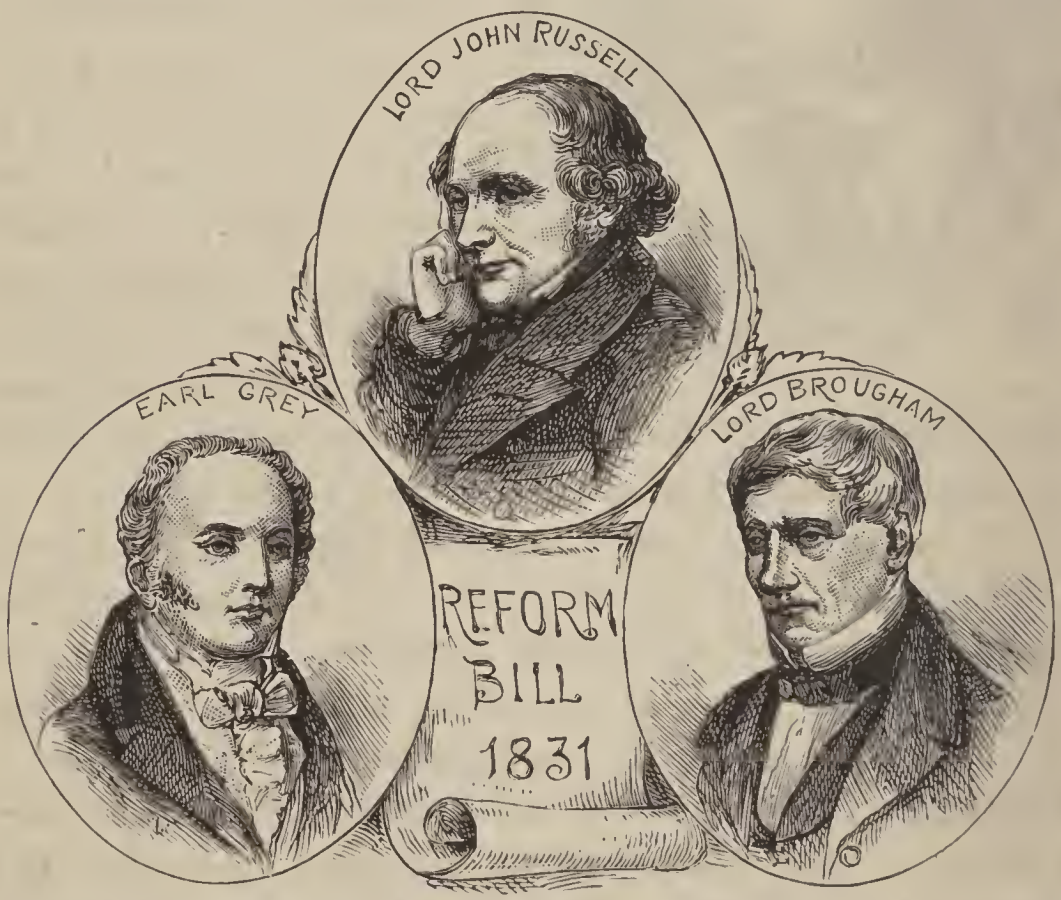
WILLIAM IV.

ACCESSION of William IV.:[1] Reasons for Reform.—Many causes combined to make the new reign an era of progress. It was known that William IV. was not averse to reform, and this fact was of some importance in the final struggle. The Sailor King, as he was called, was very popular. He had been trained to the sea, and there was something of the frank, impulsive generosity which we associate with the sailor character about him.

It was natural that one great improvement should take precedence of all others, for if it were accomplished it would render all others possible. This was the *Reform of the House of Commons*, and the purpose was to make that assembly really represent the people of England. The necessity for such a change was very evident. The places which returned members had remained unaltered since the time of Charles II. Many old towns had decayed, but still their *sites* were entitled to representation; while the great centres of industry which had sprung up in the North were left without a voice in the legislature of the nation. The most glaring absurdities existed. One *borough* was "a cluster of cottages round a venerable ruin;" the waves of the North Sea had long rolled over another; a park, a

green mound, niches in a wall, returned members to Parliament; while many large cities had no representatives. Finally, those who had a right to vote had it on most various grounds, while the mass of the population of the country was totally unrepresented. The *need of reform* was thus most imperative.

The Introduction of the Reform Bill.[2]—The three most prominent figures in the parliamentary struggle



for reform are Lord Grey, Lord John Russell, and Lord Brougham. *Grey*, the Prime Minister, was now an old man; forty years before he had presented a petition to the Commons for the reform of Parliament. He was thus the survivor of the reformers of an earlier generation, and it was singularly appropriate that he should be chosen to lead the reformers of his own. And well fitted was he for the task: he was dignified,

patient, and courteous ; his personal character was high ; while his 'lofty and animated eloquence' was well suited for a great subject and a noble assembly. *Lord Brougham* was an abler, but not so respected, a man. His talents were very various and very great, and he only just missed the highest kind of eminence in many different fields. He became Lord Chancellor, but his legal knowledge seemed to be thrown into the shade by his other acquirements. Yet he did not leave any permanent mark on the history of his country, for he was vain and self-seeking and wanted high moral purpose. But at that time his reputation was at its height, and he gave himself up entirely to the bill. Of *Lord Russell* it has been well said, "that he had strength of character and of will, and saw his way clearly before him." To him the bill was entrusted in the Commons.

A general outline of this great measure should be known to all. In the first place, fifty-six rotten boroughs (as they were called) were completely swept away, and the representation of others was lessened. There were thus one hundred and forty-three seats free to be distributed to important places which either had not hitherto elected members of Parliament, or had not received their due share of the electing privilege. A few of these seats fell to Scotland and Ireland.[3] Finally, the franchise was made uniform over the whole of the country, and lowered so as to include a much larger section of the population. The right to vote was accordingly given in towns to the householder paying £10 or more of rent, in counties to leaseholders and tenants at will paying at least £50 of rent.

The Struggle for the Bill.—At first, the bill was rejected by the Commons ; and Parliament was accordingly

dissolved. In the new Parliament a great majority was returned in favour of the bill; and, after the most determined opposition,[4] it passed the Lower House, and was sent to the Upper House, where it was under the charge of Earl Grey. As may well be believed, there were many eloquent speeches made on the measure, but it was finally thrown out by the Lords.[5]

There was immediately great commotion in the country. In many towns muffled bells were rung; and some of the mansions of the more obnoxious peers were burnt. The country was on the eve of revolution; and many spoke of refusing to pay taxes. Yet the great mass of the people remained quiet, firm, and determined, expressing their wishes in huge but orderly meetings, and by other legal methods. Their spirit is well shown in the lines of a stirring Union Hymn, very popular at the time :—

> "God is our guide! no swords we draw,
> We handle not war's battle-fires;
> By union, justice, reason, law,
> We claim the birthright of our sires;
> We raise the watchword Liberty,
> We will, we will, we will be free!"

The bill was again brought forward, and slowly but successfully fought its way once more through the House of Commons. In the Lords the opposition was not so serious as before, but the most sweeping changes were then made in the measure. Grey refused to allow this. His determination was well expressed in the popular watchword of the period, '*The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.*' He then demanded that the king should create a sufficient number of peers to ensure the passing of the entire measure; and, when William IV. refused, the ministry resigned. Things now seemed approaching a crisis. The popular agita-

tion became worse than ever. The popularity of the sailor-king was completely gone. In vain the Duke of Wellington tried to form a ministry. The king was forced to recall his former ministers, and agreed to appoint the required number of peers. The mere threat was enough, and the Lords allowed the bill to pass. The royal assent was given to it in June 1832.

Reforms which followed the Great Bill.—The same reforming energy made itself felt in many beneficial changes which took place in the five remaining years of William's reign. First in time and pre-eminent in merit comes the *Emancipation of the Slaves*—the noblest work of the reformed Parliament. Modern slavery stands condemned on every possible ground. It is bad both for masters and slaves, for both are brutalised; it curses the very soil, never produces true prosperity, and is invariably followed by low morality and widespread poverty.

WILBERFORCE.

Such facts are, after all, beside the question. A few noble men, chief among whom was *Wilberforce*,[6] impressed on the nation the great truth *that slavery was a crime*, and that it ought not to be allowed even in the remotest parts of the empire. Still there was the usual opposition of interested parties, and the planters made as much as possible of the tremendous loss which they were about to undergo. It was at length agreed

to give them £20,000,000 in compensation, and slavery was abolished throughout the British empire.[7]

The same year a beginning was made with what were called the *Factory Acts*, the object of which was the protection of women and young people. At that time, women worked underground in coal mines and in the factories for many hours a day. The number of hours during which women and children could be employed was by this measure fixed, and the attendance of the latter at school was made compulsory.

A second great reform was the Act for the amendment of the *Poor-Law system*.[8] In the reign of Elizabeth, it had been enacted that each parish should support its own poor. But, as there was no central authority, the law had come to be very loosely administered. Farmers gave very small wages to labourers, who then got relief; and thus the farmers really had their expenses paid by the parish. The Act now passed provided for the partial suppression of out-door relief, established a central authority, and lessened the expenses of administration. Its principles were that, whilst provision should be made to prevent actual starvation, care should be taken to prevent the *idle* and able-bodied from obtaining relief.[9]

1. **William IV.** reigned from 1830 to 1837.
2. This was done by Lord John Russell in 1831.
3. By the bill of 1832, England and Wales were to have 500 members, Scotland 53, and Ireland 105.
4. It was debated in the House from June 24th to September 22d, 1831.
5. It was thrown out by the Lords on October 8th, on the second reading.
6. **Wilberforce.** This noble philanthropist had obtained the suppression of the *slave-trade* in 1807; and now, after twenty years of unceasing effort, he succeeded in passing the bill for the abolition of slavery in the British Empire.
7. The bill was passed in August 1834.
8. This Act was passed in 1834.
9. The king died at Windsor on the 20th of June 1837. Among the minor measures passed during this reign the most important was the Municipal Corporation Act (passed in 1835), reforming the self-government of boroughs. At this time the town councils were usually self-elected; and gave no proper account of the funds which they had under their control. Few reforms have been more needed or more beneficial than this, which substituted popular elected bodies for these corrupt corporations.

VICTORIA: THE HALCYON DAYS.[1]

VICTORIA AND ALBERT.

ACCESSION of the Queen.[2]—In the early morning of June 20, 1837, when the short summer night had hardly as yet given way to dawn, a coach occupied by two high officials of state left Windsor Castle. It drove for several hours along the silent highway, and at five reached Kensington Palace. After some delay, the two men were admitted; and, after much tedious waiting in one of the lower rooms, they were joined by a young girl, roused from her sleep, and hastily dressed to receive them. The two men knelt before her, and saluted her as Queen of Great Britain. They were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain; the girl of eighteen was Queen Victoria.

A few hours afterwards, a formal council was held; and here, as elsewhere and afterwards, the dignified and quiet bearing of the new sovereign won the admiration of all who saw her. She had been carefully educated; and, while much was due to those who surrounded her in her early years, such education had been applied to an essentially royal and noble nature.

With such a sovereign on the throne, the old sentiment of loyalty took fresh force and new meaning. There was something of tenderness and romance in the feeling

with which the girl-queen was regarded. As years rolled on, these sentiments became brighter and stronger; for the royal household became the model of an English home, and the queen endeared herself to the hearts of her people.

During this beneficent reign, the country has grown wealthier and more prosperous. Much of the progress of the nation has been due to the full application of natural forces to aid human effort. Electricity has, in a sense, annihilated time and space; the railway and long steam-voyage systems have received full development. The electric light has thrown a radiance, only inferior to sunlight, over the darkest night; and the telephone[3] now enables men to speak to one another over great distances. Greater things will yet be done, for Englishmen are ever pressing forward in the path of discovery, regarding the triumphs of the past as but an earnest of the achievements of the future.

The Penny Post.—The story of the *penny post* is full of interest. Before 1839, the payments for postage were very irregular. To carry a letter from one part of a town to another cost 2d.; and the average charge on every letter throughout the kingdom was a little more than 6d. A letter from London to Brighton cost 8d.; from London to Aberdeen, 1s. 3d.; from London to Belfast, 1s. 4d. Further, members of Parliament had then the curious privilege of franking letters; that is to say, they signed their name on the outside, and then the letter went through the post free of charge.

People resorted to all sorts of devices to obtain news of their relations and yet evade payment of the duty. A well-known story related by Coleridge[4] may serve as an illustration. He was once walking in a country

THE YOUNG QUEEN.

district of England when a postman approached a cottage in which a woman lived, handed her a letter, and demanded a shilling for postage. The woman took the letter, examined it carefully, declared that she could not pay the sum asked for, and returned the document to the postman. Coleridge now stepped forward and paid the money, although the woman objected to his doing so. The postman departed, the letter was opened, and found to contain a blank sheet! The woman then explained that it was from her brother; and that the arrival of the letter was merely a sign agreed upon by which she might know that he was well.

Rowland Hill, with whose name the *penny post* is inseparably associated, saw that there was something wrong in a system which produced results like these. He held that the fee should be greatly reduced; and he also maintained that it would be of incalculable benefit to trade if the postage were the same for all distances. After the usual amount of opposition, the scheme was carried, and has since received even greater extensions by the adoption of halfpenny *postal cards*[5] and the introduction of the *parcels post*.[6]

Repeal of the Corn Laws: Free Trade.—A still greater reform now calls for notice here—the change in the *Corn Laws*, and the adoption of the principle of *Free Trade* by the English government.

As a country becomes more crowded, grain tends to rise in price, because it becomes more and more difficult to get the quantity required for the wants of the population. The rise does good at first to the farmers; but this causes so many people to try to get farms that rents go up, and thus the proprietors of land get the whole benefit of the increase in the price of food. Now there

is one way in which the rise in price can be prevented, and that is by large importations of foreign corn from countries which are thinly peopled, where land is cheap and only the most fertile soils cultivated. If such supplies continue, the price of corn falls, the farmers get less profits, and they soon pay very much less rents. Thus the proprietors are not so wealthy, but bread is cheaper. It is now universally agreed that it is better to let corn come freely into a country, but it was not thought so then; and a law had been passed that wheat must be 80 shillings[7] a quarter before it could be admitted duty free.[8]

COBDEN.

During the early years of the reign of Victoria, the people of England became slowly convinced that the Corn Laws must be abolished. This conviction was greatly due to a body called the Anti-Corn-Law League,[9] which had its headquarters at Manchester, and from that city sent forth lecturers and speakers to all parts of the kingdom. Some of the more eminent members of the League got into Parliament, and their presence there was naturally of much benefit to their cause.

Of these men, *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright* were the most remarkable. Of Cobden, it has been said, that he persuaded by convincing. He was transparently sincere, and the light of an earnest spirit shone through

his speeches. He had travelled and observed much, and he was ever ready to drive home a statement by some apt illustration or happy phrase. Bright was more of an orator than his fellow-worker. There was sentiment and imagination as well as argument in his speeches, and his voice had tones of scorn, pathos, humour, and passion in it that powerfully affected his hearers. Both men were very outspoken and direct, and even their bitterest opponents felt that they had no selfish or personal ends to serve in what they did.

BRIGHT.

At last Sir Robert Peel,[10] who had come into office pledged to support the Corn Laws, first acknowledged that he was a Free Trader in theory, and then confessed that he had been persuaded by Cobden's arguments that the Corn Laws ought to be abolished. A measure to this effect was accordingly introduced by the minister himself, and became law in 1846, amid the heartfelt joy of the masses of the people, but in spite of the determined opposition of Peel's former supporters.

The policy of free trade—that is, of allowing all kinds of goods to come freely into the country—was now applied to a number of other articles. The *sugar* duties were equalised, and the *navigation laws* were abolished. The result has been that, as the English take the goods of other nations freely, they find it of real advantage to trade with them, and that Britain has become more and

more the commercial centre of the world. The greater part of the carrying trade of the globe has also centred in England from the same cause, and London is now the exchange of all nations.

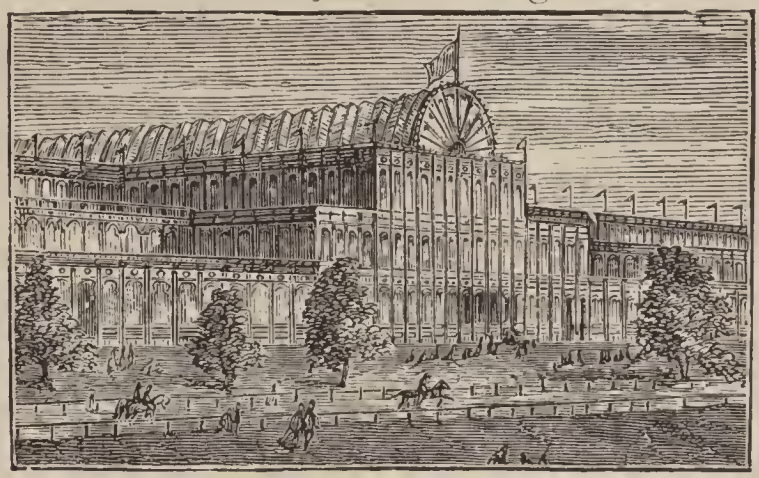
The Irish Famine of 1845.—This national disaster did much to force the question of free trade in corn to a final issue. In Ireland a state of things had arisen in which the great mass of the peasantry had as their only food the potato. The evil of this system was made terribly apparent in the autumn of 1845, when it was found that the crop which had been so wholly depended upon was a complete failure. It was evident to all that suffering would fall upon the miserable people, and that the tax upon grain could only serve to increase the already intolerable burden of want and wretchedness. *The reality was worse than the saddest anticipation!*

Famine, and the diseases which followed in its wake, seized hold of a great part of Ireland. Men died everywhere — in remote huts, on the mountains, on roads along which they were painfully crawling in search of relief, in the streets of towns which they had reached in vain. As shopkeepers came to open their shop-doors in the morning they found corpses stiff and stark on the doorstep. In some places, coroners "declared it impossible to keep on holding inquests, and the parochial authorities at last declined to put the ratepayers to the expense of coffins for the too frequent dead."

As if famine was not enough, unheard-of diseases came —famine-fever, a terrible kind of dysentery,[11] and other maladies, killed multitudes. The landlords in many places were ruined. They let their once stately abodes to be used as poorhouses. The whole structure of Irish society collapsed. The country was drained by emigra-

tion, and the population has gone on decreasing ever since. However bad the state of the Irish peasantry of to-day, it is not nearly so hopeless as before the famine, and we may perhaps yet date the regeneration of Ireland from that terrible event.

Albert the Good.—In 1840 the Queen was married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha.[12] The Prince Consort was a man of conscientious and high character, and of a deliberate and thoughtful nature, whose whole aim in life was the happiness of the Queen and her country. Through much unpopularity and calumny, he with unswerving rectitude pursued the straight path of duty; and thus, when he died,[13] the manifestations of a nation's grief were far too true and profound to have been the mere conventional expressions of courtly sorrow. Prince Albert identified himself with no political party; but devoted his attention to useful *social reforms*, which commended themselves to all.



THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

One of the most noteworthy of these schemes was that which resulted in the erection of the wonderful fabric of glass and iron, which is known in history as *the Great Exhibition of* 1851. On the 1st of May in that year the Exhibition was opened. Within the spacious building, 30,000 people were assembled. Vast crowds lined the streets through which the procession that opened the 'world's fair' passed. In this

magnificent display of the 'triumphs of peace,' Englishmen enjoyed the opportunity of seeing specimens of the industry of all nations.[14]

Some men thought that the Great Exhibition would begin an era of universal peace. Britain had so long enjoyed tranquillity that a new generation had arisen to whom war was a mere story. It seemed to many that so irrational a method of settling disputes could not again be brought into use; that nations which had beaten their swords into ploughshares would be too wise to reverse the process. This dream was soon proved to be a vain one; for already forces were at work which plunged the country into a struggle with the great Empire of Russia.

1. **Halcyon Days,** *i.e.*, the seventeen years of *peace* before the Crimean war. The phrase is derived from the pretty fable that the halcyon or kingfisher *brought forth its young upon the sea*, and that the waves were tranquil during the time of its breeding.
2. **The Queen.** For the descent of Her Majesty see the table on p. 177.
3. **Telephone,** an instrument for reproducing *sound*, especially the sound of the human voice, at a *distance* by means of electricity. The word means, '*the far or distant sound.*'
4. **Coleridge,** *i.e.*, the poet S. T. Coleridge.
5. **Halfpenny Postal Cards** came into use on October 1, 1870.
6. **Parcels Post,** introduced in August 1883 by the Postmaster-General, Professor Fawcett.
7. In 1815. This price for wheat was a most extravagant one.
9. **Anti-Corn-Law League,** founded on March 20, 1839.
10. **Sir Robert Peel,** a leading Tory statesman and minister. He first took office in 1812, and, after long opposing the measure, he himself proposed and carried the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829. He became Prime Minister in 1841, and by his action in passing the Act for the Abolition of the Corn Laws, he lost favour with his party, and was obliged to retire. He died in 1850.
11. **Dysentery,** a disease of the *entrails* or bowels, attended with pain and a discharge of mucus and blood.
12. **Saxe-Coburg Gotha,** a small German state, round the head-waters of the Werra.
13. He died in 1861.
14. A very large number of similar exhibitions have since been held in imitation of Prince Albert's great and useful project.
8. In 1828, the principle of 'a sliding scale' was introduced; this was modified in 1846. What is meant will be understood from the following tables:—

Sliding Scale of 1828.	Sliding Scale of 1846.
Wheat at 50s. paid 20s. of duty.	Wheat under 48s. paid 10s. of duty.
Wheat at 55s. paid 17s. of duty.	Wheat at 49s. paid 9s. of duty.
Wheat at 60s. paid 12s. of duty.	Wheat at 50s. paid 8s. of duty.
Wheat at 70s. paid 5s. of duty.	Wheat at 51s. paid 7s. of duty.
Wheat at 75s. or more paid 1s. of duty.	Wheat at 52s. paid 6s. of duty.
	Wheat at 53s. paid 5s. of duty.
	Wheat at 54s. and upwards paid 4s. of duty.

THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE INDIAN MUTINY.

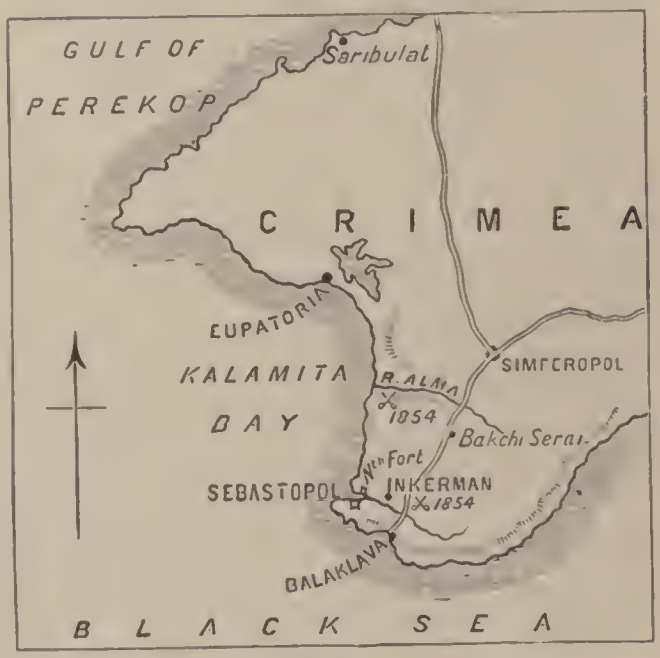
LORD CLYDE.

CAUSES of the War.[1]—Russia had for about a century been rapidly extending herself,[2] and it was natural that she should press on the fertile provinces which the Turk misgoverned. Moreover, a majority of the inhabitants of the Turkish provinces were Christians of the Greek Church, and they naturally looked to the Czar for protection.[3] Meanwhile, England believed that her interests required the maintenance of the Turkish power, for both the way to India[4] and India itself would be imperilled if Russia occupied that empire.

Several other causes operated at this particular time. The Czar Nicholas was a scheming and ambitious man, filled with plans as to the disposal of the Turkish dominions. On the other hand, Napoleon III., who had lately made himself Emperor of the French,[5] wanted to enter into a great war in alliance with one of the European powers, which would divert the minds of the French people from home affairs. He found his opportunity in a discussion as to the right of custody of the Holy Places in Palestine, which had been a question in dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches,[6] of which Nicholas and Napoleon were the armed representatives. Finally Russia had a dispute with Turkey as to the

protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and declared war against her. England then demanded that Russia should desist from hostilities and withdraw from certain Turkish provinces which she had occupied. Russia refused, and war was immediately declared.

The Siege of Sebastopol: Battle of the Alma.—The great event[7] of this war was the *invasion of the Crimea.*[8] The Allies determined to attack *Sebastopol*, then the great arsenal of Russia at the south-west point of the Crimean Peninsula, and the chief station of the Black Sea fleet. North of the fortress, the river Alma enters the sea, and still farther north is the port of Eupatoria[9] on Kalamita Bay. From this point, in September 1854, an army of 60,000, consisting chiefly of French and English,[10] was directed to march on the Russian stronghold.



The first great battle was fought on the *Alma*,[11] which the invaders had to cross on their march. The Russians occupied the heights on the south of the river. Their position was a strong one; but their leader, believing it to be unassailable, neglected the commonest precautions, and did not even destroy the bridges across the river. This was really a soldier's battle; for the men simply charged at the heights and succeeded in carrying them by sheer fighting.

The Russian army fell back in confusion; and, find-

ing the task of driving the invaders into the sea harder than had been expected, they now resolved to throw as many obstacles in the advance of the Allies as possible. The victorious army unfortunately did not follow up their success with promptitude; had they done so, Sebastopol might have fallen.

Balaclava and Inkerman.—The Allies then marched past Sebastopol, and established themselves at the southern port of Balaclava. From this point they made an unsuccessful attack upon the fortress by land and sea, but the Russians had made excellent use of the weeks of delay,[12] and the town was now almost impregnable. The besiegers were, in their turn, attacked by an overwhelming body of Russians. Then was fought the terrible battle of *Balaclava*.[13]

This fierce contest was rendered famous by many a brave deed. The Russians had swept the Turks before them, and were breaking in upon the very heart of the British position, when the gallant 93d Highlanders, led by Sir Colin Campbell, faced the solid mass in a double line; and, unaided by artillery, brought the foe to a stand with the rifle alone. At another moment of that eventful day, the Heavy Brigade [14] cut their way through a dense body of Russian cavalry thrice their number.

But the deed of greatest daring was that famous exploit known in song and story as the "Charge of the Light Brigade." An order was given to a body of six hundred and seven horsemen to attack the guns of the enemy. To reach them it was necessary to pass over a plain a mile and a-half long, flanked on both sides by the Russian guns. Some one had blundered! who or how was never exactly known; but the undaunted band rushed forward on their mission of death.

The heroic soldiers accomplished their task. They succeeded in silencing the fatal guns. But only one hundred and ninety-eight returned; the rest lay dead or wounded on the fatal plain. Eleven days later,[15] the Russians made another desperate attack at *Inkerman*. The assault was made in the early morning, and was meant to be a surprise.

CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE.

Accordingly, the battle was fought almost in the dark, and was gained rather by the courage of the soldiers than the skill of their leaders. Never was the valour of the men shown to greater advantage. For the entire day, eight thousand British troops and six thousand of their brave allies held the heights against sixty thousand of the foe.

The Sufferings in the Trenches: Close of the War.—After this battle, the trenches were opened against Sebastopol, and the army settled down to pass the winter as best it could. It was then that the soldiers felt to the full the horrors of war. The weather was terrible—wind and rain and sleet and snow; the malignity of nature as well as the enmity of man assailed the devoted band. Even their friends failed them—the men suffered terribly from want of food and clothing.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Parties that were at work in the trenches returned worn out to the camp, only to find the shelter of the tents destroyed by a hurricane, and the encampment one great morass. Then cholera came and claimed its victims, for there was a want of medical stores at the proper places, and the hospitals were in a wretched condition. All this created terrible indignation in England;[16] but the story of English suffering had a noble result, for it induced *Florence Nightingale* and a band of Englishwomen to hurry to the scene of war; and their good sense and energy, and indeed their very presence, soon worked a complete change for the better in the surroundings of the sick and wounded.

At length, after nearly a year's siege, and after having sustained successfully many hostile attacks, the Russian garrison withdrew from Sebastopol. The Allies entered and took possession, but found only a heap of ruins.

The war was now practically over; and after a few months spent in negotiations, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris.[17] The main point was an agreement by the Great Powers[18] to respect the independence of Turkey, and a promise on the part of the Sultan to grant equal rights to his Christian subjects. Both Russia and Turkey were forbidden to put ships of war into the Black Sea.[19] These seem to be small results for so great a struggle; and the interest of the expedition for us now is chiefly in the proof it afforded of the valour and endurance of English soldiers.

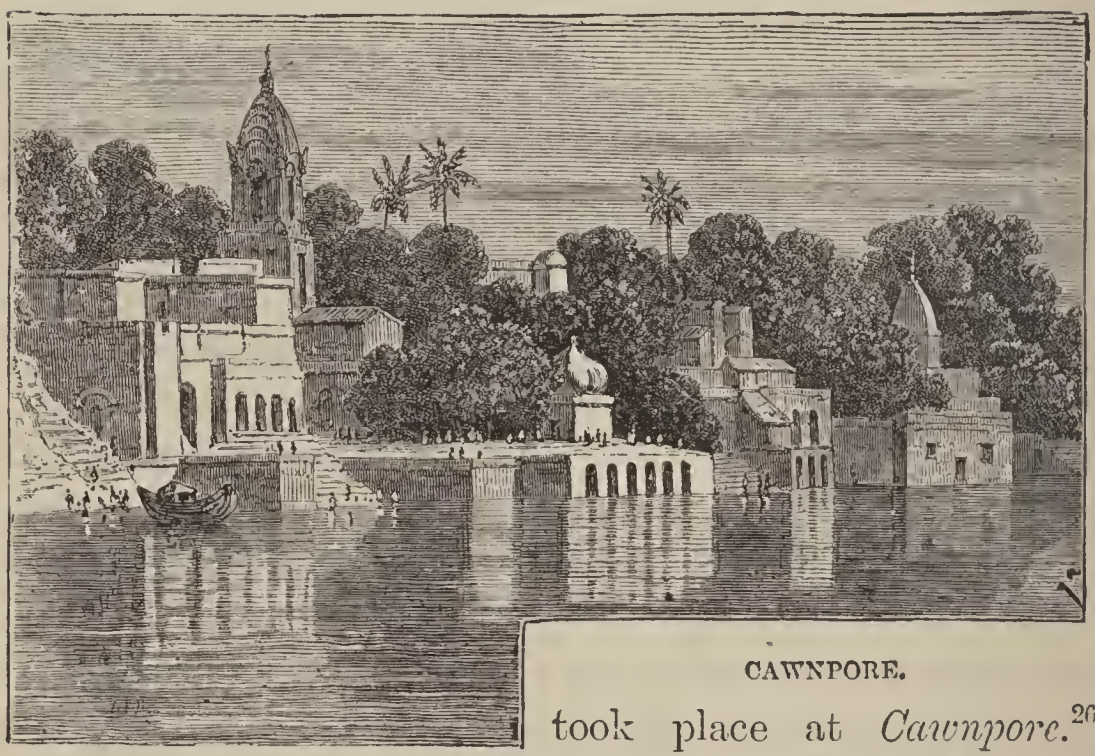
The Indian Mutiny.[20]—That valour and endurance was soon again put to the proof, for in the next year a terrible mutiny broke out in India. The mere fact that there the English were outnumbered in the proportion of two thousand to one, and that they differed from the people in race and religion, rendered an outbreak possible at any time. Further, they had a large military force of natives, and the losses in the Crimea had been so magnified among the credulous population that the power of England was believed to be on the wane.

Now it so happened that at this very time, greased cartridges were served out to the sepoys,[21] and the grease was said to be a mixture of cow and hog fat. In the days of the muzzle-loader the soldier had to *bite* the cartridge. But the native army was composed partly of Hindus and partly of Mahommedans; and neither of these races could touch the cartridges without being defiled;[22] for the cow is sacred to the former, while the hog was an unclean beast to the latter. In vain, it was explained to the discontented soldiers that they were mistaken; the excitement daily increased.

Outbreaks took place in various places; and, at length,

on Sunday, May 10th, the native troops at *Meerut* mutinied.[23] When driven from that city, they fled to *Delhi*,[24] thirty-eight miles to the south-west. There the mutineers were at once joined by the Sepoys in the city and the neighbourhood. The mutiny had now fairly commenced. By meeting it in time, the Punjab, that great district to the north-west of India, was saved; but at *Lucknow*,[25] Sir Henry Lawrence was shut up in the British Residency, and forced to endure a siege.

The most dreadful scene of the whole insurrection



CAWNPORE.

took place at *Cawnpore*.[26] After a brave defence, the garrison were induced to lay down their arms by the promises of the notorious Nana Sahib, who, while pretending to be a friend of the English, was in reality their deadliest foe. This miscreant promised a safe passage down the river to *Allahabad;* but no sooner had the unarmed party left the cover of the Residency, and entered the boats, than they were assailed with a furious fire.

The men were all killed;[27] and the women and

children, almost dead with terror, were thrust into a narrow prison. Here, while Havelock and his men were pressing forward to the rescue, five armed men were sent among the captives. Those outside listened and shuddered, for the evening silence was broken by the death-shrieks of the unhappy victims. The next day, the whole of the bodies were thrown into a well in the courtyard, although some of the children were not even yet dead.[28]

Soon after the English soldiers arrived, routed the forces which the Nana had collected, entered the city, but found none of their own race to greet them. They looked down into that 'well of horrors,' they entered that chamber of death and were kindled into fury by the proofs of the terrible tragedy which met their eyes.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK.

We need not trace in detail the series of successful movements by which the mutiny was finally crushed. First, after a long siege, Delhi fell before a daring assault; and, five days later, Havelock relieved Lucknow. He was immediately surrounded by an enormous multitude of the enemy, but was easily able to hold out till November 17, when he was in turn relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. It was thought best at the time to withdraw from the position; and when this had been safely effected on March 19, 1858, the rebellion was practically over.[29]

Even yet it is impossible for us, who at some distance of time read the records of this mutiny, not to be filled with grief and rage at the story. The people at home were moved as perhaps men in England never had been before. Men shuddered as they thought of the outrages committed upon delicate women and tender children; and a wild, unceasing cry for vengeance arose. It was to the credit of the highest men in India that they set their faces for justice, not revenge. The Governor-General was sneeringly called 'Clemency' Canning, but the name will not now be considered a reproach.

An important change in the government of India was brought about by the mutiny. The East India Company was abolished and India put completely under the control of the crown—a change in every way for the better.

1. **War** was declared on the 28th of March 1854; it lasted for two years, the treaty of peace being signed at Paris March 30, 1856.
2. This was said to be in accordance with the will of Peter the Great, which pointed the Russians onwards to Constantinople in the south-west, and to India in the south-east.
3. The three great forms of Christianity are (1) the Latin or Catholic Church; (2) The Greek Church; (3) The Protestant Church. The Czar of Russia is head of the Greek Church.
4. **Way to India,** by the *overland* or Mediterranean route. This was, of course, before the time of the Suez Canal. The fear was that if Russia were allowed to seize Turkey, or even Constantinople, she would be able to reach India by a shorter route than that round the Cape of Good Hope, which Britain would require to use.
5. **Emperor of the French.** A third Revolution took place in France in 1848, and Louis Napoleon was made President of the Republic. In 1851 he was declared President for ten years, and in 1852 he was proclaimed Emperor of the French.
6. **Greek and Latin Churches.** See note 3 above.
7. We sent, it is true, a fleet into the *Baltic* under Sir Charles Napier which accomplished nothing, as there was nothing very definite that it could do. Then there was the defence of Silistria and Kars by Turks and Englishmen against the Russians. But these were side matters; the very conflict was known, not as the Russian, but as the Crimean war.
8. **Crimea,** the Russian Peninsula in the north of the Black Sea.
9. **Eupatoria,** a Russian seaport on the west coast of the Crimea, 50 miles north of Sebastopol.
10. The French under Marshal St. Arnaud, the British under Lord Raglan.
11. **The Alma,** fought on September 20, 1854.
12. The Allies had landed on the 14th of September, and this attack was made on the 17th of October.
13. **Balaclava,** fought on October 25, 1854.
14. **The Heavy Brigade,** *i.e.*, the heavy cavalry. The regiments engaged represented the Rose, the Shamrock, and the Thistle, for they were the *English* Dragoon Guards, the *Irish* Enniskillens, and the *Scots* Greys.
15. On November 5.
16. It caused the overthrow of the Duke of Newcastle's Ministry, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister.
17. See note 1 above.
18. **The Great Powers,** *i.e.*, Prussia, Russia, Austria, France, and Britain. To these Italy has since been added.
19. Russia obtained the abolition of the order against its Black Sea fleet in 1871, during the Franco-Prussian war.
20. **The Indian Mutiny** broke out at Meerut, to

the north of Delhi, on the 10th of May 1857, by the 3d Bengal Cavalry's attack on the prison; it may be said to have ended with the capture of Bareilly on May 7, 1858.

21. **Sepoys** (from the Hindu *sipahi*, a bowman), the native soldiers of our Indian army.
22. The Hindu would have *lost caste*, that is, have become an outcast from the *class of society* to which he belonged.
23. See note 20.
24. **Delhi**, a great city on the river Jumna.
25. **Lucknow**, a great city on the Ganges, the capital of the kingdom of Oudh.
26. **Cawnpore**, a sacred city, south-west of Lucknow, on the Ganges.
27. One or two were imprisoned with the women, but they were murdered before the others.
28. September 20, 1857.
29. See note 20 above.

AFRICAN WARS SINCE THE MUTINY.

THE Abyssinian War.—Although, since the Crimean war, England has not been engaged in conflict with any European power, yet the vast extent of her empire brings her into contact with semi-civilised or savage nations, and exposes her to almost continual struggles—small it may be, but very troublesome, and calling forth the highest qualities of the British army.

The first of these[1] which need be mentioned here is the famous *Abyssinian Expedition* of the year 1868.[2] That country is, as you know, a very mountainous region in the north-east of Africa, and lying near to the entrance of the Red Sea. Its half-savage king, Theodore, having, in a fit of sulky passion,[3] seized upon the British consul and several English subjects, refused to liberate them.

Accordingly, a force of twelve thousand fighting men[4] was sent from Bombay under the command of Sir Robert Napier. The campaign proved a very remarkable one—not for the fighting which was done, but for the skill and discipline of the march. The army had to advance three hundred and twenty miles through an unknown region filled with vast perpendicular rocks and precipitous ravines. The whole achievement was an unequalled *engineering* triumph; at one time, hills which blocked up the way had to be blown up with gun-

powder ; at another, a narrow ledge had to be cut along the face of the mountain wall[5] to afford a footing for the beasts of burden. Every foot of the march was a struggle between the forces of Nature and the persevering skill of man, in which the latter was ultimately victorious.

At last *Magdala*,[6] the stronghold of the tyrant, was reached and taken by storm.[7] Before the final assault, the captives had been set free ; and the baffled king was so disappointed at the defeat of his soldiers that he killed himself in despair. The victorious leader of the British troops was afterwards raised to the peerage as *Baron Napier of Magdala*.

The Ashantee Expedition.—Five years later,[8] the conduct of another African despot forced England to send out a second expedition. This time the troops, led by the now famous Sir Garnet Wolseley,[9] had to enter the unhealthy region north of the Gold Coast.[10] Their object was to punish the savage negro king of *Ashantee*,[11] who had without provocation invaded British territory, and interfered with the trade of neighbouring tribes[12]—allies of England, and under its protection.

After four days' fighting and marching—an advance nearly as difficult as that of the Abyssinian war, for the troops had to contend with intense tropical heat, a pestilential climate, an almost impenetrable jungle,[13] and a brave but barbarous foe—the capital, *Coomassie*,[14] was taken and destroyed. By this means the British power in West Africa was more firmly established, and not only the conquered king himself, but the other native tyrants of the district, compelled to abstain for the future from interference with their more industrious and peaceful neighbours.

Wars in South Africa.—While one part of the army was fighting in the highlands of Afghanistan, another portion was engaged on the northern frontiers of our South African colony of Natal. England had been persuaded to annex the Transvaal Republic, an immense and little known Dutch[15] state to the north-west of our nearest possessions. It was thought in this country that this had been done with the consent of the people, but this seems not to have been the case, and the whole transaction proved a costly and dangerous one. The Boers,[16] as they are called, were at the time engaged in a bitter dispute with Cetewayo, the king of *Zululand*,[17] concerning a strip of territory between the two countries. In this, the natives were undoubtedly in the right; but the English authorities in the colony assumed the Boer cause along with the annexation of their land.

The Zulu monarch was therefore ordered to disband his army and break up his military organisation. He returned no answer to this mandate; and, accordingly, a British army of 13,000 men, under Lord Chelmsford, crossed the river Tugela[18] to enforce compliance. The plan of operation was that four columns should move from different points of the frontier and converge towards *Ulundi*, the African leaders' capital or kraal.[19]

The expedition soon met with a dreadful disaster. The officers and men alike seem to have despised their savage foes and acted without due caution; but they now found how formidable was the enemy they had to encounter. Ten days after crossing the Tugela, Lord Chelmsford led the greater part of his column out of camp at *Isandula*,[20] leaving a force of 1000 men behind him to act as guard. The officer in command had either been careless or was tempted out of his position. At

all events, when the main body returned they found that the Zulus had destroyed the camp and slaughtered the defenders. The entire force might have been cut off and Natal invaded, had it not been for the heroic defence at *Rorke's Drift*[21] by 100 men under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead. That gallant little band

DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT.

kept at bay during a whole night, and finally defeated some thousands of the savage enemy.

So alarmed and indignant were the English people at the disaster which had befallen the army, that Sir Garnet Wolseley, the hero of the Ashantee war, was sent out to take command; but, before he arrived, Lord Chelmsford

had nobly retrieved his reputation by the decisive victory of *Ginghilova* and the overwhelming defeat of the Zulu king at *Ulundi*.[22] Cetewayo's power was now completely broken, and he himself soon afterwards captured.[23] He was then dethroned, and his kingdom broken up into thirteen separate sections.

Two other native kings[24] had to be suppressed before peace was restored to England's African possessions. Hardly had this been done, when the worst consequence of the hasty annexation of the Transvaal showed itself. Having been freed by British arms from their most dangerous foes, they declared that they had never consented to the union with Britain. They accordingly rose in rebellion, and re-proclaimed their republic. These Boers are coarse but very brave men, accustomed from childhood to the rough life of herdsmen and hunters. Accordingly, they are almost to a man skilled marksmen, and in the wild country which they know so well are most formidable foes. Thus they defeated with great slaughter the British troops under General Colley at *Majuba Hill*.[25] When the sad news reached England, General Roberts, the victor of Candahar, was sent out with reinforcements and to take command. However, to the disappointment of the exasperated soldiers and of many people at home, peace was made before he had the opportunity of striking a blow at the enemy.

The Government virtually acknowledged that they had been misled in regard to the annexation of the Transvaal, and the Boers regained their independence. Since that time, to complete the reversal of our former policy, the Zulu king has been restored to a portion of his former power. From beginning to end the disturbances in South Africa are the most unfortunate of the

foreign troubles that have disturbed Britain since the Crimean war. One sad occurrence may be mentioned here as typical of the whole series of blunders. Prince Louis Napoleon, the only son of the fallen Napoleon III., joined our army during the Zulu war as a volunteer. He went out to make a reconnaissance[26] with a few men; the party were, while resting, surprised by the Zulus; the rest escaped, but the unfortunate Prince was unable to remount his horse,[27] and was killed, fighting to the last with his face to the foe.

1. This passes over the renewal of the Chinese war, which was closed by the Treaty of Pekin in 1860.
2. The pioneers of the expedition landed in the beginning of October 1867.
3. **Sulky passion,** either because the Queen had not answered according to his liking a letter which his sable majesty had sent to her, or because the British Consul, Mr. Cameron, had visited some provinces friendly to Egypt, and thus excited the suspicion of the passionate king.
4. So great were the difficulties of transport that the *total force* under Napier's command amounted to about 26,000.
5. They had to carry all their supplies of food, &c., with them. The cannon were carried on the backs of elephants.
6. **Magdala,** a fortress built on the summit of a steep hill in the very heart of the mountains to the south of Abyssinia.
7. The fortress was stormed on the 12th April 1868.
8. The Ashantee war began in 1873. Coomassie was captured in 1874.
9. **Sir Garnet Wolseley.** This distinguished officer had previously taken charge of an expedition to the Red River Settlement in British America. He has since conducted to a successful termination the Egyptian war, and been elevated to the peerage.
10. **The Gold Coast.** A British dependency to the north of the Gulf of Guinea. Its capital is Cape Coast Castle.
11. **Ashantee.** A negro kingdom, directly north of the Gold Coast, adjoining the larger state of Dahomey. The king's name was Koffee Calcalli.
12. The Fantees.
13. **Jungle.** The trees were interlaced with dense thickets of prickly shrubs.
14. **Coomassie,** capital of Ashantee, on the river Dah.
15. That is, peopled by descendants of the original Dutch settlers. They had at first lived in Cape Colony, but were so discontented with British rule that they first migrated to Natal, and then again migrated to the Orange River Republic and the Transvaal.
16. **Boers** (pronounced '*boors*'), the name for the people of Transvaal. It is a Dutch word meaning '*farmers*,' and is from the same root as the last syllable of our word 'neigh-*bour*,' i.e., *nearest farmers*.
17. **Zululand,** directly north of Natal.
18. **Tugela River,** the boundary between Natal and Zululand.
19. **Kraal,** the Dutch name for a native *village*, so called from the huts being arranged like a *coral* or string of beads.
20. **Isandula** (also spelt Isandhlwana and Islandhana), near the north-western frontier of Natal.
21. **Rorke's Drift,** across the Buffalo River, a tributary of the Tugela.
22. **Ulundi,** in the very centre of Zululand. The victory was gained on the 4th of July, 1879.
23. **Cetewayo** was captured on the 28th of August.
24. **Two other native kings.** *Secocoeni*, who was made prisoner by Sir Garnet Wolseley; and *Moirosi*, who was killed at the storming of his kraal.
25. **Majuba Hill,** near the point where Natal and Transvaal meet.
26. **Reconnaissance,** a reconnoitring expedition to find out the enemy's position.
27. Some strap connected with the saddle gave way, and he could not mount in time.

WARS IN DEFENCE OF INDIA.

THE Afghan War.—In 1878 England was involved in a war with a much more formidable enemy than either the savage tyrant of Ashantee or the half-civilised king of Abyssinia. Her foes on this occasion were the brave mountaineers of Afghanistan; and the object of the British government was to render her influence in that country safe from the encroachments of Russia, and to form what was called a 'scientific frontier' for the protection of her Indian Empire from attack on the north-west.

Russia had just emerged in triumph from its war with Turkey, and the renown of its victories had penetrated into every bazaar [1] in Asia. Accordingly, when it became known that a Russian embassy had been received at *Cabul*,[2] the Indian Government thought they had just ground for alarm. The memory of the horrors of the Indian Mutiny may have made them dread the effect of such a disturbing influence upon the excitable Eastern imagination. An English mission was therefore sent to Afghanistan; but, upon reaching the fortress at the head of the narrow pass [3] which leads across the mountains from Northern India to that country, the embassy was stopped, and informed that the Ameer,[4] Sheer Ali, refused to receive them and ordered them to be turned back.

To avenge this insult, and effect the other aims mentioned above, a British army entered Afghanistan in three columns,[5] and successfully forced its way across the difficult mountain-passes, defeating the foe in several engagements. The Ameer fled either along with or

after the withdrawing Russian embassy; and not receiving the enthusiastic welcome and military help he had expected, died of a broken heart six weeks later.

THE RETREAT FROM MAIWAND.

His son and successor, Yakub Khan, afterwards signed the treaty of *Gandamak*,[6] agreeing in all his dealings with other powers to be guided by British advice,

and to receive at Cabul an English Resident. Little more than two months had passed, however, when the English Residency was attacked by some of the Ameer's soldiers;[7] and, after a brave defence, the ambassador and his escort were cruelly butchered. A single native Indian soldier alone escaped to carry to the English camp the tidings of the treacherous slaughter.

Immediately the English army was led by the gallant General Roberts to the work of vengeance. Within little more than five weeks after the destruction of the British Mission, he had defeated the Afghans in several sharp battles, and entered Cabul in triumph. The ring-leaders in the massacre were at once put to death; and the Ameer, who was glad to resign his crown, was sent a prisoner to India.

The victorious army spent the winter in a fortified camp near Cabul, and in the summer of 1880,[8] Abdur-rahman Khan was selected by the native chiefs as their ruler. Hardly had this been done, however, when tidings came from the south that a small British army, under General Burrows, had been cut to pieces at *Maiwand*[9] by the troops of Ayub Khan, a disappointed rival of the new Ameer.

This disaster led to the most brilliant achievement of the war. Setting out from Cabul with a body of picked troops, General Roberts made one of the most striking marches in the annals of our Indian warfare; and in three weeks had led his troops in perfect order and security over the three hundred and fifty miles of difficult and hostile country between the capital and Candahar. His enthusiastic and unwearied soldiers were ready to attack the enemy on the very next day, and their bold but skilful commander reaped the fruit

of his masterly daring in the magnificent victory of *Pir Paimal*,[10] which terminated the war.

The turbulent Ayub Khan then fled to Herat, and the Ameer was able to undertake the government of the country. Early in the following year, the English troops, who had so unweariedly fought the battles of their country in that distant mountain land, returned in triumph to India. The passes through which alone an invading army could penetrate into that vast empire from the threatened frontier are now secure under British control.

The Egyptian War.—But one more of these minor wars calls for mention here—the still well-remembered 'Egyptian campaign,' an undertaking of far greater importance than any of the preceding contests. In that important country, the link connecting Europe with Asia and Africa, the army had thrown off its allegiance to the Khedive,[11] and placed itself under a leader called Arabi. The whole country was thrown into confusion; and British interests in the Suez Canal[12] as the highway to India, and as essential to the prosperity of her commerce, and the enormous stake which the possession of India gives England in Eastern affairs, forced her to interfere.

The fleet, under Admiral Seymour, on the refusal of the rebels to desist from erecting offensive works, bombarded the forts of Alexandria, and in a few hours reduced them to ruin. The army, including a contingent of troops from India, landed, and, under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, actively pushed on operations.

At first the troops were kept in the great northern port, and the enemy accordingly busied themselves in erecting and fortifying immense batteries to the south of that city. When all was ready, the commander of the British force, who had wisely kept his own counsel,

suddenly embarked the larger part of his army on board the fleet. The sight was most striking, as, in the calm beauty of a September night, the stately ships glided eastward over the placid waters of the blue Mediterranean. Onlookers felt that the men who manned that vast 'armada' were worthy successors of those who fought 'where Blake and mighty Nelson fell.'

THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE ALEXANDRIAN FORTS.

Both ends of the Suez Canal had meanwhile been seized; and Sir Garnet struck his blow at the enemy from the centre of that great waterway. The final encounter took place at Arabi's strong position of *Tel-el-Kebïr*.[13] No scene in the history of war is more striking than that which immediately preceded the attack. The

lines were to be taken by assault at dawn ; and all through the dark night the various divisions of the army advanced in parallel lines—their leaders exactly timing their advance, and guiding their course by the stars. The steadiness of this midnight march is beyond praise, and the precision with which the different columns burst like thunderstorms upon the doomed lines speaks volumes for the discipline of the men and the skill of the generals.

When the word of command was given, the English troops, with determined valour, swept over the earthworks and cleared the lines with the deadly bayonet. The enemy fled in wild confusion, pursued by the cavalry and shelled by the artillery. No time was ever given them to rally; for on the very next day the cavalry, under General Drury Lowe, was at the gates of *Cairo*. The city of the Pharaohs was at once surrendered, and the conquered Arabi gave himself up. He was afterwards brought to trial along with his chief fellow-conspirators, and is now detained in captivity in the island of Ceylon.

The victorious general and his gallant rival, the admiral of the fleet,[14] have since been raised to the peerage; and all agree that no war was ever more ably carried out. One of its most important results has been the proof it afforded to all Europe of the military and naval strength of England. Her ironclad ships were proved to be formidable agents of offence ; her transport and supply arrangements were found to be strikingly efficient when compared to what they were in the Crimean and earlier wars ; while the disciplined valour of her soldiers was never seen to better advantage, nor have her generals ever exhibited more judicious daring than in this Egyptian war.

1. **Bazaars**, the Eastern *market-places*, or places of exchange. Here the merchants from different countries congregate and bring with them the *news* of peace and war as well as their goods.

2. **Cabul** (sometimes spelt Caboot, Kabul, and

Caubool), is the capital of Afghanistan, in the north-east of that country, and on a river of the same name.

3. The famous *Khyber Pass*, leading from Peshawur right up towards Cabul. The corresponding southern pass leading to Candahar is called the *Bolan Pass*.

4. **Ameer**, the title of the emperor of Afghanistan. Our word 'admiral' is from the same root, which means an *independent ruler*.

5. They advanced in November 1878. One column entered by the Khyber Pass, a second by the Bolan (see note 3 above), and a third advanced by the Kurrum Valley, near the first-mentioned.

6. **Gandamak**, a place between Cabul and the fortress of Jellalabad, at the head of the Khyber Pass. The treaty was signed on May 29th, 1879.

7. It was apparently a revolt; but the Ameer was believed to have been cognisant of the matter.

8. He was elected in the month of July.

9. **Maiwand**, north-west of Candahar, the southern capital of Afghanistan. The battle took place on July 27th.

10. **Pir Paimal**, north-west of Candahar. The battle took place on September 1st, 1880.

11. **Khedive**, the title of the ruler of Egypt. The word is from the Persian, and means *prince* or *ruler*.

12. **Suez Canal**, from Port Said on the Mediterranean to Port Suez on the Red Sea.

13. **Tel-el-Kebir**, between the centre of the Canal and Cairo. The battle took place on the 13th September 1882.

14. That is, Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Beauchamp Seymour, now Lords Wolseley and Alcester.

THE RECENT YEARS OF THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

ENGLAND and America.—While England was thus constantly busied with these conflicts on the outskirts of her empire, her relations with the great civilised powers of the world were of surpassing interest. Let us first consider her dealings with our own Republic —a nation so closely allied to her by language and descent.

The close of the Indian Mutiny found the States[1] divided into two hostile sections—the upholders and the opposers of slavery. For nearly thirty years[2] the controversy had raged with deadly bitterness—the northern hatred of serfdom increasing from year to year, and the anger of the slave-owners becoming more and more intense.[3] At last the enemies of the evil system succeeded in electing as President Abraham Lincoln,[4] from his youth an uncompromising foe to slavery.

So incensed were the Southern States[5] at their defeat,[6] that they determined *to secede from the union*, and set

up a separate confederacy. The North maintained that the slave-states had no right to act in this way, and that their country was a *nation*—not a mere collection of units from which any member could separate at will. Accordingly, animated by an irresistible spirit of patriotism, the people of the free states determined to sacrifice their whole possessions and their lives *to maintain the Union*, and resolved that they would suppress the rebellion, no matter at what cost [7] and in spite of every disaster.[8]

A dreadful civil war then raged for four years;[9] but, after a struggle of unequal magnitude, the cause of Freedom and American Nationalism triumphed, and the exhausted South was forced into allegiance. During the gigantic contest, slavery had been abolished;[10] and as it is a proud boast that 'slaves cannot breathe in England,' so it is now a glorious article of our constitution, that *slavery shall never again exist upon American soil.*

Unhappily the general sympathy of England had been with the brave but erring and unfortunate South. Ships had even been built in her ports for the Secessionists, and had preyed cruelly upon our commerce. Of these by far the most injurious had been a steamer from the Mersey—the then famous Alabama. The justly incensed government and people of the States now demanded satisfaction; and, to the honour of the two great English-speaking nations, Britain and America, instead of plunging into war, submitted their subjects of dispute to peaceful *arbitration.*[11] The judges found England entitled to pay three millions sterling; the award was faithfully carried out, and since that time the friendship between our kinsmen and ourselves has steadily increased.

Changes in Europe.—Two movements of stupendous magnitude have been steadily progressing during these years so pregnant with importance to England and the world. The first of these is that irresistible tendency of small communities to join themselves into *nations*, formed by those of the same race and speaking the same language, which had in the Middle Ages welded into one the different peoples of England [12] and the principalities of France. The second current is one no less general, no less powerful, and no less beneficent; it is the marvellous advance towards Liberty and Reform which has stirred into new activity the oppressed peoples of the continent and led them onwards towards a higher and more prosperous life.

The mighty *national* tide first rose in Italy, which at the beginning of the Crimean War was split up into many small parts. Austria held Lombardy and Venetia [13] under the iron hand of a cruel despotism; Ferdinand II. trampled beneath his tyrant heel the people of Naples and Sicily; various other separate Duchies [14] still further broke up the peninsula, and the name Italy was thus merely a geographical term destitute of all political significance. Now, thanks to the statesmanship of the illustrious patriot *Cavour*,[15] the heroic sword of the fiery *Garibaldi*,[16] and the gallant boldness of *Victor Emmanuel*,[17] the unity of Italy [18] has been triumphantly established and the peninsula has entered upon a new career of prosperity and progress.

The same current has swept over Germany in this wonder-working generation. The progress there has not yet reached its ultimate goal, but has advanced with mighty strides. Here the names of the august king and emperor *William*,[19] the iron-willed politician

Bismarck[20] (the presiding genius of German unity), and the unsurpassed strategist, *General Von Moltke*,[21] form the triumvirate to whom their fellow-countrymen owe the magnificent triumphs of their Fatherland.[22]

Before these leaders began their great work, Germany like Italy was broken up into a great number of states, the two most powerful being Prussia and Austria.[23] The first step towards unity was the taking of the two German provinces of Schleswig and Holstein[24] from Denmark. Two years later war broke out between Prussia and Austria themselves, in which the latter was crushed in a short campaign of seven days.[25] This triumph for the Northern kingdom was followed by the exclusion of the conquered country from the German confederation, the temporary separation from the same union of the southern states of Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony ; and the union of all the Northern principalities into one compact empire under the victorious William of Prussia.[26]

Four years later, there broke out the memorable war between Germany and France,[27] in which the Northern Empire was joined by all the Southern States. It was soon made manifest that the patriotism and bravery of the French were quite unable to meet the perfect organisation of their invaders and the unrivalled skill of the opposing general. France was accordingly completely defeated,[28] its emperor lost his throne, Paris was taken, and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were once more added[29] to their empire by the victors. The Southern States now willingly joined their Northern brethren, and the long-delayed unity of Germany became an accomplished fact.

One European race, the *Slavs*,[30] is still broken up

into various communities. But they, too, have been mightily moved by the spirit of unity and freedom. The movement first manifested itself in outbreaks of the subject provinces of Turkey. The dreadful cruelty with which the rising in the Christian region of Bulgaria was suppressed by its Mohammedan rulers caused a wave of wrath to sweep over Europe; and Russia, as the greatest Slav power, stepped forward as the champion of its tortured and enslaved kinsmen.

After a desperate struggle, in which the Turks fought very bravely against overwhelming odds, Russia triumphed. The provinces north of the Balkans [31] were then freed from their oppressors; so that of the European peoples which had once been enslaved by the Turk, only four millions are now left under its rule.[32] They too shall yet be free: for the longing of peoples of the same race to live in unity together, 'safe from interference of external force,' shall yet be satisfied; and a free Slav people may yet be able to stand side by side on equal terms with united Germany and undivided Italy.

Progress of Liberty and Reform.—The second great movement mentioned at the beginning of the preceding section of this lesson—that of liberty and reform—has been steadily progressing not only in England but on the continent of Europe. In *France* a republic [33] seems to be at last firmly established, and her free people are advancing rapidly under the stimulating influence of self-government; *Italy* rejoices in a constitution framed on the model of the English system, and representative institutions have been formed throughout *Austria*.[34]

Prussia still makes the maintenance of her military organisation supreme over questions of popular liberty,

and *Russia* is practically an unlimited despotism: but in the former country education is too widely spread to allow arbitrary rule long to prevail; and in Russia, serfdom has been abolished for nearly a generation, and the dawn of popular liberty is beginning to brighten the Eastern sky.[35]

The greatest burden which Europe has at present to bear is the enormous armed force kept up by each of its separate countries. Hundreds of millions of pounds are every year wasted on armaments; and millions of men, withdrawn from the ranks of industry, require to be supported by the labours of those left to work. The only great country in the world which does not maintain any huge military establishments is the United States; and many believe that the advantage that this gives our various industries will so enable us to surpass the European countries in trade, that they will in time be forced to disband their overgrown armies and enter on a career of peaceful rivalry.

In England, the movement begun in 1832 has been as powerful as ever. Thus, in 1867 a new Reform Bill[36] widened the basis of the electoral system, and granted to thousands of noble artisans their just influence in the representation of their country; and four years afterwards voters were protected from interference in the exercise of their rights, by an Act[37] enabling them to vote with safety according to their convictions. *Ireland*, too, has been greatly benefited—the whole attention of government and people being centred upon her needs and wishes. The Protestant Episcopal Church there, which represented a very small minority of the people, has been disestablished and disendowed;[38] a Land Bill[39] has given security of tenure

and moderate rents to the tenants, and may be said to have made them part-proprietors of the soil with their landlords. Unhappily, a section of that unfortunate people has not received these concessions in the spirit in which they were made, and great confusion still prevails.[40] Finally, a grand system of *national education* has been devised: no parent, however brutal and ignorant, is now allowed to deprive his child of the blessings of knowledge; and, where necessary, School Boards, elected by the people, have been appointed to watch over that training of the young which is producing results of priceless value to their country.

Disraeli and Gladstone.—Two men have been pre-eminent in their influence on the later history of England: one of these has gone; the other still lives—ever-active in the service of his country. *Benjamin Disraeli*[41] has been said to be the "most remarkable man of our time." With no advantages save those which his own talent gave him, and with many disadvantages (not the least of which was that he was of Jewish origin), he raised himself to be for many years the first man in England. He began life as an extreme Liberal, but was soon attached to the Conservative side. He was not at first popular in Parliament; but his power of wit and sarcasm, his happy turns of expression, and his striking and in-

BEACONSFIELD.

genious reasoning, soon caused him to be recognised as a man of the first ability, and he rose to the foremost place in the ranks of the Conservative party.

His name is identified not so much with home legislation as with what is called an Imperial policy, that is, one which lays very special stress upon the relations to foreign states, and is specially careful of the glory and dignity of the empire. In 1874 he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield; and his last great appearance was at the Congress of Berlin which followed the Russo-Turkish war.[42] He died in 1880, followed by the sorrow of his grateful sovereign, the regret of the whole people of England, and the mournful tears of the great party he had so brilliantly led.

William Ewart Gladstone, his great opponent, was originally a Conservative, but gradually came to adopt the Liberal side in politics. He first became eminent, and will ever be known, as a great financier. He was ever able so to arrange the revenue that the national burden became much lighter, whilst the benefit was undiminished; and such arrangements, however difficult in themselves, he could always explain in a lucid and interesting manner. On still higher subjects, his intense earnestness, the high moral purpose evident in all his actions, his clear and powerful arguments, and his remarkable eloquence, produced a marvellous effect upon his hearers. No British minister has ever surpassed him in power to ascertain a nation's wants and longings, the skill to form plans to embody these, and the courage and determination requisite to carry them through to triumphant completion.

Conclusion.—Thus have you followed the history of England from the earliest times to the present.

The country is still pressing onward in the career of *industry, uprightness*, and *honour*. Manufactures are increasing every day; invention seems yet to be in its infancy; education and liberty, for which the men of Old England had to struggle, are now freely granted to the people. The literature of England has lost none of its greatness under her illustrious Queen, and the names of Tennyson and Browning; Carlyle and Ruskin; Macaulay, Hallam, Froude, and Freeman; Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot,[43] and many other famous writers, have handed on to the coming generation the torch of knowledge, truth, and beauty. In every respect God has blessed England and its people, and the homes of this day, those in which the children of Britain now live, are far happier and more prosperous than those of the former generation. Much yet remains to be done, but progress is sure; for it remains as true as the laws of Nature itself, that, as the people become more and more Christian, noble, and free, the power and happiness of the country will rise triumphant over every danger and in spite of every foe.

GLADSTONE.

1. **The States.** The great American Republic, usually known as the United States of America.
2. **Thirty Years.** The beginning of the agitation for the abolition of slavery may be dated from the 1st January 1831, when the first number of a paper called *The Liberator* was published in Boston by a poor printer called William Lloyd Garrison. This champion of the slave edited

the paper till 1865. The secession may be taken as at the end of December 1860, exactly *thirty years* after the beginning of the anti-slavery struggle.

3. This but feebly describes the ferocity of the slave-holders—even in Philadelphia, poor negroes were butchered, and their houses burned down by the '*gallant chivalry*' (?) *of the South!*

4. **Abraham Lincoln,** elected in November 1860. The immediate question of the election was whether slavery should or should not be allowed to spread into the recently settled territories between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. The election settled that it should not be allowed. Lincoln was re-elected in 1864, and assassinated by an actor called Wilkes Booth in the theatre at Washington, April 14th, 1865. He was born in 1809.

5. **The Southern States.** The first to secede was (1) South Carolina; (2) Georgia, (3) Alabama, (4) Mississippi, (5) Louisiana, and (6) Florida, joined her at once; (7) Virginia, (8) North Carolina, (9) Tennessee, (10) Arkansas, and (11) Texas, followed a few months afterwards.

6. **Their Defeat.** By far the greater number of the former Presidents had been from the Southern States, and this increased their disappointment.

7. **Cost.** Before the end of the Civil War, America had contracted a debt of nearly £600,000,000. She has already paid off more than a *third* of the whole—surely an example to us.

8. **Disaster.** At first the ill-trained army of the North was defeated by the more dashing forces of the South.

9. **Four Years.** The *first* battle was fought at *Manassas Junction*, in Virginia, on the 21st of July 1861; the *last* was fought to the south of Richmond on March 29th, 1865.

10. **Slavery Abolished.** The President proclaimed, in September 1862, freedom to all slaves in those states which should still be in rebellion on New Year's Day 1863. A clause abolising slavery was added to the American Constitution in 1865.

11. **Arbitration,** *i.e.*, the peaceful decision of impartial judges. A conference was held at Geneva, where the matter was debated, and decided against Britain.

12. **The different peoples of England,** *i.e.*, the Cymric, the Anglo-Saxon, the Scandinavian, and the Norman. To these have since been added the peoples of Scotland.

13. Austria had overrun Italy in 1820, five years after the fall of the first Napoleon. She had held the north-eastern part till the war with Sardinia.

14. **Duchies,** such as Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. To these might be added the States of the Church.

15. **Cavour.** The Count Camillo di Cavour, the noble minister of the Sardinian king. All his sympathies were on the side of freedom, and the unity and liberation of Italy formed the one object of his life. He was born in 1810 and died in 1861, four months after he had witnessed the assembling of the first parliament of free and united Italy.

16. **Garibaldi** shares with Cavour the honour of having freed Italy. A passionate lover of freedom, and its champion all over the world, no more unselfish and noble-hearted patriot ever lived in any age or clime. He had purchased the little island of Caprera, near Sardinia; and after each of his victories, refusing all reward, he returned to his quiet sea-girt home. He was born in 1807, and lived long after Cavour to see the prosperity of his beloved Italy. To the last he spoke against the holding of Savoy by France, and of Trieste by Austria.

17. **Victor Emmanuel,** the gallant king of Sardinia. He became king of the whole of Italy in 1861, and died in 1878.

18. **The Unity of Italy.** The steps towards this result were the following, (1) The alliance of Sardinia with England and France in the Crimean war, which gave that little kingdom a voice in the settlement of matters after the war; this was due to *Cavour* alone. (2) War against Austria in alliance with France in 1859. Austria gave up *Lombardy*, but was allowed by France to retain *Venetia*. Tuscany, Parma, and Modena also joined Sardinia. France received Savoy and Nice as the price of her help.

19. **King and Emperor William,** *i.e.*, King of Prussia, and first Emperor of united Germany. He is the son of that Frederic-William of Prussia who joined England against Napoleon, and whose troops joined in the pursuit after Waterloo.

20. **Bismarck.** Count Otto von Bismarck, the able minister of the Prussian king, and the great Chancellor of united Germany. From the very first he carried out with unfaltering firmness the resolve to make Prussia supreme in Germany, and Germany united and tranquil in spite of every opposing force.

21. **Von Moltke,** the great Prussian general. He was originally in the service of the Danish king, but left because his talents were not sufficiently recognised. His victories have proved him to be the greatest general of his time.

22. **The Fatherland,** the fond German name for their country. They hold that the *Fatherland* exists wherever Germans live—no matter under what petty ruler.

23. **Austria.** The western provinces of Austria are still *German* in race. For many generations Austria was the great German power,

and could not brook the increasing influence of Prussia.

24. **Schleswig and Holstein**, the provinces of Germany, taken from Denmark, whose southern provinces they had been, in 1864.

25. **Seven days.** The first engagement took place on June 27th, 1866; the final struggle took place at *Sadowa*, in the north of Bohemia, on July 3d. The triumph of Prussia was due to its *needle-gun*, the first *breech*-loading rifle used by a European army. This led the other nations to change their weapons for the improved form.

26. It was now settled that the king of Prussia should also be *hereditary* emperor of Germany. This was a complete change from the old elective system.

27. **Germany and France.** The war is known as the Franco-Prussian war. It began on July 19th, 1870.

28. After repeated defeats, the whole army of the French emperor was compelled to surrender at *Sedan* on September 1st, 1870, six weeks after the declaration of war. Besides losing the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, France had to pay an indemnity of Two Hundred Million Pounds to Germany.

29. **Once more added.** Alsace had been taken from Germany at the end of the thirty years' war in 1648; Lorraine had been annexed by France on the death of the king of Poland in 1766.

30. **The Slavs.** This race is still thoroughly subdivided—Russia is really a Slavonic state, the southern and eastern provinces of Austria are of the same family, the states to the north of Turkey and part of Prussia may be added.

31. Roumania and Servia had already been free; Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina were now released. Roumelia, south of the Balkans, hopes yet to join her liberated brethren.

32. That is, the inhabitants of Roumelia and Albania.

33. **Republic.** France has now a Lower House called the Senate, equivalent to our House of Commons, elected by all citizens above the age of twenty-one; she has also an Upper House, one-fourth elected by the Senate, and the remainder by the citizens above twenty-one.

34. **Austria.** Representative institutions were established on May 1st, 1861; Hungary obtained her own legislature in 1867. The emperor and empress of Austria are also king and queen of Hungary.

35. The Czar was crowned in 1883; he promised reforms. Nihilism indicates how terribly the masses of Russia feel their enslaved condition.

36. **Reform Bill.** The Borough Franchise was conferred on all ratepayers, and the lodgers who occupied rooms worth £10 a-year; the County Franchise was reduced to £12; forty-six members were taken from the lesser English boroughs and given to English counties and places in Scotland and Ireland. At present England and Wales have 493 members, Scotland 60, and Ireland 105, *i.e.*, in all 658 members—the constitutional number of our House of Commons.

37. *I.e.*, the Ballot Act of 1872.

38. The Irish Church was disendowed in 1869.

39. **Land Bill.** This was amended by the Irish Land Act of 1881.

40. A dreadful society called the 'Invincibles,' had been formed in Dublin for the assassination of the chief members of the Government and other opponents of the society. The chief leaders have now been executed, the Catholic Church has denounced secret societies and crime, and order seems to be gradually re-asserting itself.

41. **Benjamin Disraeli.** Born 21st December 1804, other accounts say 1805 or 1806; Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1868, and again from 1874 to 1880.

42. The treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13, 1878.

43. These are but a very few of famous Victorian writers; Tennyson is our noble Poet-Laureate, and Robert Browning his greatest rival; Carlyle the strongest thinker of his age, an unrivalled essayist and biographer, while Ruskin has created the literature of art criticism; Macaulay, Hallam, Froude, and Freeman, are the leaders of an illustrious band of historians; and, last of all, Dickens, Thackeray, and the cultivated lady, Miss Evans, who wrote under the name of George Eliot, are the most famous of our numberless host of novelists.

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